God
928·2
Gre/Nic/Lit
97963

BOMBAY BRANCH

OF THE

Royal Asiatic Society.

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 06 February, 2016

LIBRARY OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY

From an Original Picture by Hans Holbein

Jane the Queene

London Published by Harding Triphook & Lepard, Sept.r 1815.

THE

LITERARY REMAINS

OF

LADY JANE GREY:

WITH

A Memoir of her Life.

97963

BY NICHOLAS HARRIS NICOLAS, ESQ.
FELLOW OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES.

In hire is high beaute withouten pride,
Youthe, withouten grenehed or folie:
To all hire werkes vertue is hire guide;
Humblesse hath slaien in hire tyrannie:
She is a mirrour of alle curtesie,
Hire herte is veray chambre of holinesse,
Hire hond ministre of fredom for almesse.

Chaucer.

LONDON:
PUBLISHED BY HARDING, TRIPHOOK, AND LEPARD,
FINSBURY SQUARE.
MDCCCXXV.

NN-L-32

928.2
Gre/Nic/Lit
97963

828.2
Nic/Lit

00097963

Johnson, Typ. Brook Street, Holborn

TO THE MOST HONORABLE

RICHARD PLANTAGENET TEMPLE-NUGENT-BRYDGES-CHANDOS-GRENVILLE,

MARQUESS OF CHANDOS,

ONLY SON OF HER GRACE, ANNE ELIZA, DUCHESS OF BUCKINGHAM AND CHANDOS, THE PRESENT REPRESENTATIVE OF THE

LADY JANE GREY;

THIS COLLECTION OF HER LITERARY PRODUCTIONS, WITH A MEMOIR OF HER EVENTFUL LIFE, IS, WITH HIS PERMISSION, RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED.

vince us of their authenticity, and one of them exists at the present day in her own manuscript.

In the memoir which is prefixed to this volume, an account is given of her life, hence it is only necessary in this place to offer some observations on the articles which are attributed to her pen. The following list comprises what are considered to have been unquestionably written by herself.

Three letters in Latin to Henry Bullinger. These letters were written before her marriage, and between the years 1550 and 1553. Translations of them are also inserted.

A letter to a friend newly fallen from the Faith. This letter is said to have been addressed to Dr. Hardinge, but as it was certainly written before her marriage, and as he did not declare his apostacy until after the accession of Mary, the assertion, as is more fully observed in the following memoir, is probably erroneous, unless she was informed of his sentiments before he publicly avowed them.

A Conference with Feckenham, Queen Mary's Chaplain; written in February, 1554, a few days before her execution.

A Prayer for her own use whilst a Prisoner in the Tower. As Lady Jane Grey was committed

to the Tower in July, 1553, and executed on the 12 February, 1554, it must have been composed within that period.

A letter to her Father, also written in the Tower, and probably, only a few weeks before her death.

A letter to her Sister Katherine. This letter was written Sunday, 11 February, 1554, the night before her execution, in a blank leaf of a Greek New Testament.

Notes, &c. in a MS. Manual of Prayers. As the Duke of Suffolk, to whom two of these notes were addressed, was not committed to the Tower until the 10th February, they must have been written within two days of her decease. This MS. with the notes in question, is now in the British Museum.

All of the preceding are reprinted in this volume, as are also some *Latin lines*, said to have been written by her on the walls of her prison with a pin; but it is by no means certain that they are genuine, for no trace of them existed when the other inscriptions in the Tower were discovered. As, however, they have been constantly ascribed to her, and as they do not contain any internal evidence to the

contrary, it was not thought advisable to omit them. Lord Orford states, that Lady Jane Grey likewise wrote two pieces, the one, entitled *The Duty of a Christian*, and the other *The Complaint of a Sinner*, but after a diligent enquiry, neither of them could be found; nor does his Lordship inform us where they exist. In all probability these titles were other names for articles printed in this collection under different appellations. *The Duty of a Christian* well describes what is generally styled *Her conference with Feckenham*, which commences with the interrogation of "What thing is required in a Christian;" and the *Complaint of a Sinner* might be used to designate *The Prayer composed for her own use*. Hollingshed and Baker assert, that she wrote "other things," but neither of these Chroniclers specify or refer to them; and as no other of her productions, excepting "Three Epigrams on her Husband's Body, one in English, one in Greek, and the third in Latin," is noticed by either of her numerous biographers, it may be concluded, whatever else she might have written, that nothing besides what is collected in this volume has been preserved. The "Epigrams" alluded

to, it is contended in the following pages, were never written by Lady Jane Grey.

On the subject of her works it must be further remarked, that this collection contains every thing which is known to be extant; and in the narrative of her life some observations on their authenticity, and the period when, as well as the circumstances under which they were composed, are introduced. It will be seen that Religion was the chief subject that employed her pen; and whilst the situation in which from her childhood she had the misfortune to be placed, accounts for the selection of so solemn a theme, her virtues and unmerited sorrows, bestow on her productions a deep and permanent interest. Purer morality or more important precepts were never expressed; and at the same time, that the writings of this admirable young woman, are, from the period in which she lived, and the proofs which they afford of her extraordinary attainments, literary curiosities, the filial devotion, resignation, and piety they display, entitle them to the highest commendation.

The MEMOIR OF LADY JANE GREY has been drawn up from the best authorities; and

the most valuable of the state papers relating to her usurpation are inserted. No documents hitherto inedited could be discovered which were in any degree connected with her life, nor is it pretended that many new facts are developed: yet as the statements of former writers have been carefully collated, by which some erroneous conclusions have been detected, and as the historical question of her claim to the throne is not only fully discussed, but is illustrated by an extensive genealogical table——which exhibits the succession of every monarch of this kingdom from the reign of Edward the Fourth; the pretensions of the personages to whom, by the will of Henry the Eighth, the crown was limited; together with the descent of the present representative of Lady Jane Grey——it is hoped that the original matter in this volume will be deemed worthy of notice, not merely by the admirers of that celebrated woman, but also by those who are interested in that part of English History in which she was so unfortunately involved.

August, 1825.

PEDIGREE SHEWING THE PRETENSIONS OF LADY JANE GREY TO THE THRONE; AND THE DESCENT OF THE MOST HONORABLE RICHARD PLANTAGENET-TEMPLE-NUGENT-BRYDGES-CHANDOS-GRENVILLE, COMMONLY CALLED, MARQUESS OF CHANDOS, FROM HER SISTER LADY KATHERINE GREY.

[...] Edward Grey, eldest son of Reginald, 3rd Lord Grey of Ruthyn, by Joan, dau. and heir of William, Lord Astley. Summoned to Parliament, *jure uxoris*, as Lord Ferrers of Groby, ob. Dec. 18, 1457. = Elizabeth, dau. and heir of Henry Ferrers (who died, *vita patris*,) son and heir of William, Lord Ferrers of Groby.

Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, descended from Edward of Langley, Duke of York, 4th son of King Edward III. Slain at the battle of Wakefield, December 31, 1460. = Cicely Nevill, dau. of Ralph, Earl of Westmoreland.

John Grey, Lord Ferrers of Groby. Slain at the battle of St. Albans, 1461. = Elizabeth Widville, dau. of Sir Richard Widville, afterwards created Earl Rivers, and a Knight of the Garter. = Edward Plantagenet, Duke of York, ascended the throne as King Edward IV. March 4, 1461, ob. April 9, 1483.

Richard Plantagenet, 2nd son, Duke of Gloucester, usurped the throne on the death of his nephew, Edward V. and styled himself King Richard III. Slain August 22, 1485; ob. S.P.S.

Thomas Grey, Lord Ferrers of Groby. Created Marquess of Dorset April 18, 1475, K.G. ob. 1501. = Cecily, dau. and heir of William, Lord Harrington, and great grand-daughter and heir of William, Lord Bonville.

Edward V. born Nov. 4, 1470, murdered in the Tower with his only brother, Richard, Duke of York, by command of his uncle, Richard, Duke of Gloucester, afterwards King Richard III. June 22, 1483.

Elizabeth Plantagenet, sister, and eventually sole heir, born February 11, 1466, married in January, 1486, ob. 1503. = Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, ascended the throne as King Henry VII. August 22, 1485, ob. April 21, 1509.

Thomas Grey, Marquess of Dorset, & Lord Ferrers of Groby, K.G. ob. 1530. = Margaret, dau. of Sir Robert Wotton of Bocton, in Kent, Knight.

Louis XII. King of France, ob. 1515. S.P. 1st husband. = Mary Tudor 2d dau. born 1498. = Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, K.G. ob. 1545; 2d. husband.

James IV. K. of Scotland, killed at the battle of Flodden Field, Sep. 9, 1513. = Margaret Tudor, eldest dau. born Nov. 29, 1489. = Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus, 2nd. husband.

Katherine of Arragon, widow of Arthur Tudor, P. of Wales, ob. Ap. 2, 1502, S.P. Divorced May 23, 1533. 1st wife. = Ann Boleyn, dau. of Thomas, Earl of Wiltshire, beheaded May, 1536. 2d. wife. = Henry VIII. K. of England. He mar. to his 4th wife Anne of Cleves; to his 5th Katherine Howard, dau. of Lord Edm. Howard, and to his 6th wife Katherine, dau. of Sir T. Parr, and widow of Lord Latimer, by neither of whom he had issue, ob. January 28, 1547. = Jane, dau. of Sir John Seymour, & sister of Edw. D. of Somerset, ob. Oct. 1537. 3d. wife.

Henry Grey, Marquess of Dorset, and Lord Ferrers of Groby. Created Duke of Suffolk, Oct. 11, 1551, K.G. attainted and beheaded Feb. 23, 1554. = Frances Brandon, eldest dau. and eventually coheir; she mar. 2d. Adrian Stokes, Esq. but by him had no issue, ob. 1559.

Eleanor Brandon 2d. dau. & ultimately coheir, ob. Nov. 1547. = Henry Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, K.G.

James V. King of Scotland, born Apr. 1512, ob. Dec. 13, 1542. = Mary, dau. of Claud, Duke of Guise, widow of Louis, D. of Orleans. 2nd wife.

Margaret Douglas, only dau. born 1515. = Matthew Earl of Lenox, ob. 1586.

Mary, Q. of England, ascended the throne July 6, 1553, ob. Novem. 17, 1558. S.P.

Elizabeth, Q. of England, ascended the throne Nov. 17, 1558, ob. Mar. 24, 1603. S.P.

Edward VI. K. of England, ascended the throne Jan. 28, 1547, ob. July 6, 1553. S.P.

LADY JANE GREY, eldest dau. mar. May 1553, beheaded Feb. 12, 1554, ob. S.P. = Lord Guildford Dudley, 4th son of John, Duke of Northumberland, K.G. beheaded Feb. 12, 1554, ob. S.P.

Henry Herbert, son & heir of Wm. Earl of Pembroke, K.G. succeeded as 2d E. of Pembroke, 1569, K.G. 1st husband, from whom she was divorced. = Lady Katherine Grey 2d daughter, and the only child which left issue: ob. Jan. 26, 1567. = Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, ob. April 6, 1621.

Lady Mary Grey, 3rd dau. she mar. Martin Keyes, of Kent, Esq. Sergeant Porter to Q. Elizabeth, but died in 1578. S.P.

Mary Stuart, the celebrated Queen of Scots, born Dec. 7, 1542, beheaded Feb. 18, 1587. = Henry, Lord Darnley, ob. February 10, 1567, 2d husband.

Edward Seymour, commonly called Lord Beauchamp, son and heir, ob. *vita patris*, 1612. = Honora, dau. of Sir Richard Rogers, of Brianston, co. Dorset, Knight.

James VI. K. of Scotland, ascended the throne of England, as K. James I. March 24, 1603, ob. March 27, 1625. = Ann, dau. of Frederick, King of Denmark.

Sir Francis Seymour, Knt. 2d surviving son, created Baron Seymour of Trowbridge, Feb. 19, 1641, ob. 1664. = Frances, dau. and coheir of Sir Gilbert Prinne, of Allington, co. Wilts, Knt. 1st wife.

William Seymour, E. of Hertford, created Marquess of Hertford, June 3, 1640, restored to the Dukedom of Somerset, April 25, 1660, K.G. ob. 1660. = Frances Devereux, eldest sister and coheir of Francis Devereux, Earl of Essex, & Lord Ferrers of Chartley. 2nd. wife.

Charles I. K. of England, beheaded Jan. 30, 1649.

Elizabeth Stuart, only dau. = Frederick V. Elector Palatine, and King of Bohemia.

Charles Seymour, son and heir, Baron Seymour of Trowbridge, ob. August 25, 1665. = Elizabeth da. of Will. Ld. Allington, of Wymondley, ob. 1691, 2nd wife.

Henry Seymour, Lord Beauchamp, ob. *vita patris*, 1656, æt. 28. = Mary, eldest dau. of Arthur Lord Capel.

Charles II. K. of England, ascended the throne Jan. 30, 1649, ob. Feb. 6, 1685. S.P.L.

Mary Stuart. = William, Prince of Orange.

Henrietta Mary, mar. Philip, D. of Orleans, & in their descendants is vested the co-representation of the royal houses of Plantagenet, Tudor, & Stuart.

Ann Hyde, dau. of Edw. E. of Clarendon. = James II. K. of England, ascended the throne Feb. 6, 1685, abdicated Feb. 13, 1689. = Mary, dau. of Alonzo, D. of Modena, 2nd wife.

Sophia, youngest dau. in whose descendants by the Elector of Hanover the succession to the Crown was vested by stat. 12 & 13 Willm. III and 6 Ann. = Ernest Augustus, Elector of Hanover.

Charles Seymour, 2nd surviving son, succeeded his brother Francis in the Dukedom of Somerset, April 20, 1678. K.G. ob. Dec. 2, 1748. = Elizabeth Percy, dau. & sole heir of Jocelin, Earl of Northumberland, ob. Novem. 1722.

Elizabeth Seymour, sister and eventually sole heiress of her brother Wm. 3d Duke of Somerset, mar. August 31, 1676, ob. Jan. 12, 1697. = Thomas Bruce, 2d E. of Aylesbury, and 3d. Earl of Elgin, ob. Nov. 1741.

William III. K. of England, ascended the throne jointly with Qu. Mary, Feb. 13, 1689, ob. March 8, 1702. S.P. = Mary, Q. of England, eldest dau. ascended the throne jointly with her husband, Feb. 13, 1689, ob. Dec. 28, 1694.

Ann, Q. of England, ascended the throne Mar. 8, 1702: she mar. George, Prince of Denmark, but died August 1, 1714, S.P.S.

James Francis Edward, son and heir, generally known as "The Pretender;" he died in 1765, leaving two sons, Charles Edward called Duke of Albany, who died S.P. in 1788, and Hen. Benedict, styled Cardinal of York, on whose decease in 1807, S.P. the descendants of James II. became extinct.

George I. ascended the throne August 1st 1714, ob. June 11, 1727.

Lady Katherine Seymour, mar. July 21, 1708, ob. April 1712. = Sir William Wyndham, Bart. Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1712, ob. June, 1740.

Charles Bruce, 3d Earl of Aylesbury, son [...] 4th E. of Elgin, ob. Feb. 10, 1747. = Ann Saville, dau. and coheir of Wm. Marquess of Halifax, ob. July 18, 1717. 1st wife.

George II. ascended the throne, June 11, 1727, ob. Oct. 25, 1760.

Elizabeth Wyndham, sister of Charles, Earl of Egremont, married 1749, ob. Dec. 5, 1769 = The Right Hon. George Grenville, brother of the Earl Temple, ob. Nov. 13, 1770.

Mary Bruce, eldest dau. and the only child that left issue, married Dec. 21, 1728, ob. August 14, 1738. = Henry Brydges, 2nd Duke of Chandos; Marquess and Earl of Carnarvon, Viscount Wilton, and 10th Lord Chandos of Sudley, ob. Nov. 29, 1771.

Frederick Lewis, Prince of Wales, ob. *vita patris*, March 20, 1751.

George Nugent Grenville, son and heir, succeeded his uncle as Earl Temple, created Marquess of Buckingham, Nov. 30, 1784, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, K.G. ob. Feb. 11, 1813. = Mary, dau. and sole heir of Robert Earl Nugent, created Baroness Nugent in Ireland, with remainder to her 2d son Geo. present Baron Nugent, ob. March 16, 1812.

James Brydges, 3rd Duke of Chandos, Marquess and Earl of Carnarvon, Viscount Wilton, and 11th Lord Chandos of Sudley, ob. Sept. 29, 1789, S.P.M. = Anne Eliza, dau. of Richard Gamon, Esq. of Datchworthbury, co. Herts. widow of Roger Hope Elletson, Esq. married June 21, 1777, ob. Jan. 20, 1813.

George III. ascended the throne Oct. 25, 1760, ob. Jan. 29, 1820.

Richard-Temple-Nugent-Brydges-Chandos-Grenville, Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, Marquess of Buckingham and Chandos, Earl Temple, Viscount and Baron Cobham, also Earl Nugent in the Peerage of Ireland, K.G. Lord Lieutenant of the county of Buckingham. Living 1825. = Lady Anne [...] Eliza Brydges, dau. and sole heir of James, last Duke of Chandos; also sole heir of the [...] body of Lady Katherine Grey, grand-niece of King Henry VIII. and sister of LADY JA[...]NE GREY, on the which Catherine and her descendants, failing the issue of King Edwa[...]rd VI. Queen Mary, Queen Elizabeth, and Lady Jane Grey, the Crown of England was li[...]mited by the Will of King Henry VIII. Mar. April 16, 1796. Living 1825.

George IV. ascended the throne January 29, 1820. Our present most gracious Sovereign.

Richard Plantagenet-Temple-Nugent-Brydges-Chandos-Grenville, commonly called Marquess of Chandos, son and heir apparent, born Feb. 11, 1797. = M[...]ary Campbell, youngest daughter of John, Earl of Breadalbane, mar. May [...], 1819.

Richard Plantagenet Campbell-Temple-Nugent-Brydges-Chandos-Grenville, born Sept. 10, 1823.

Ann[...]a Eliza-Temple-Nugent-Brydges-Chandos-Grenville, born Feb. 7, 1820.

MEMOIR

OF

LADY JANE GREY.

Perhaps no character has ever been pourtrayed which excites the noble feelings of the human heart in so powerful a degree, as that of the unfortunate Lady Jane Grey; nor would it be possible to select a more perfect example of those virtues which adorn the female bosom, and confer dignity upon the most elevated rank, than is exhibited in her writings and conduct. But though possessed of every claim to admiration, such was the inscrutable will of that Being, to whose fiat no one could be more disposed to submit than herself, that her brief existence was not only embittered by unusual and almost constant misfortunes, but it was terminated by a violent, and in the eye of moral justice, an unmerited death.

Notwithstanding that she scarcely attained her seventeenth year, few personages have filled so important a part in the political transactions of their times, and whilst an object of the deepest interest to every mind capable of being affected

by the romantic events of her life, all which relates to her is of the greatest importance to the historian. For these reasons numerous accounts of this illustrious female have been given to the public; indeed, so many authors have made her the subject of their pens, that in this sketch of her character little hope is entertained of presenting new facts; but although every expectation of displaying traits, or recording events hitherto unnoticed, is disclaimed, this memoir may nevertheless not be totally unworthy of attention, from the consideration that the same data frequently admit of different conclusions.

If lineage to a mind so well regulated as Lady Jane Grey's could confer pride, she had a sufficient cause for it in the contemplation of her ancestry. Her father's family was one of the oldest in the kingdom, and had in several branches been ennobled; Rollo, or Fulbert, is said to have been Chamberlain to Robert, Duke of Normandy, and to have obtained from that Prince the castle of Croy, in Picardy; from which territory he adopted the surname of De Croy, afterwards altered to De Grey: according to many writers, his grandson Sir Arnold de Grey, accompanied William the Conqueror into England, and was seated at Rotherfield, in the county of Oxford, soon after the conquest: but the first of the family noticed by

Dugdale,[a] is Henry de Grey, who obtained from Richard I. a grant of the manor of Thurrock, in Essex, and which was confirmed to him by King John, in the first year of his reign, with an additional charter of license to hunt the hare and fox in any lands belonging to the crown, excepting in the King's own demesne parks: from the younger sons of this Henry have sprung the numerous families of Grey, whose names are so conspicuous in the Baronage and History of England. John, the second son, was justice of Chester in 1248, 33 Henry III., and was the father of Reginald de Grey, who also became justice of Chester, and for his eminent services received a grant from Edward I. of the castle of Ruthyn, and in the twenty-third year of that monarch's reign was summoned to parliament: dying in 1308, he was succeeded in his honours by John, his son and heir, who was twice married; the issue by his first wife continued the baronial line of Grey de Wilton, which existed in uninterrupted descent and honor for above three centuries, when the male line not only failed, but the dignities of that house were forfeited by the attainder of Thomas Lord Grey of Wilton, in 1614. By his second wife, Maud, daughter of Ralph, Lord Basset of Drayton, John Lord Grey, had a

[a] *Baronage*, tome i. p. 709.

younger son, Roger, on whom he bestowed the castle and lands of Ruthyn, and who founded a house equal in splendour and reputation to that of Grey of Wilton; he was summoned to Parliament as Lord Grey of Ruthyn, in the 17th of Edward II., and died on the 6th of March, 1353, leaving Reginald his second son his heir, as John de Grey the eldest, who was a personage of considerable consequence, died in the life time of his father. Reginald, second Lord Grey of Ruthyn, in common with the other nobility of that age, served in the wars of France, and died in 1388, when Reginald his son and heir inherited his father's dignities, and was a very distinguished baron in the latter part of the reign of Richard II., and under Henry IV. and Henry V. He married two wives; by Mary, the first, he had Sir John de Grey, who died before his father, and left Edmund de Grey, his son and heir, who succeeded his grandfather in his honours, and was created earl of Kent by Edward IV., and from whom the earls of Kent, and barons Grey de Ruthyn derived their descent. Reginald, third Lord Grey of Ruthyn, married, secondly, Joan, daughter and heiress of William, Lord Astley, and by her had three sons, the two youngest of which founded houses of considerable provincial distinction, but were never ennobled, and the eldest son, Sir Edward de Grey, was the

immediate ancestor of the subject of this memoir, and the founder of a family that attained more elevated honors than either of the other branches. Sir Edward de Grey married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Henry Ferrers, who died in his father's life time, the eldest son of William, Lord Ferrers of Groby, and she being heir to that barony, her husband was in her right summoned to Parliament, as Lord Ferrers of Groby, in 1448. A curious record which is extant relative to this baron and his wife, is worthy of notice, as being in some degree illustrative of the manners of the times. Groby in Leicestershire, the residence of this noble pair, was situated at a considerable distance from the parish church, the obstacles to reaching which were much increased by the badness of the roads. In 1446, Lady Grey, or more properly speaking, Lady Ferrers of Groby, being near her confinement, and the customs of the age requiring that a child should be baptized immediately after its birth, her husband obtained a license from John Stafford, then archbishop of Canterbury, dated at Lambeth, 8th November, 1446, that "in respect of the great distance of his manor-house of Groby from the parish church, and the foulness of the ways thereto, he might christen that child at his said house, by the Vicar of his chapel, wherewith Dame Elizabeth his wife

was then great and near the time of her delivery."[a] Lord Ferrers of Groby died December 18th, 1460, when the barony devolved on John de Grey, his son and heir, who married the famous Elizabeth Woodville, daughter of Sir Richard Woodville, who was afterwards created Earl Rivers; her husband being slain at the battle of St. Alban's, she was left a widow with two sons, Sir Thomas, and Sir Richard Grey, in whose favour she became a suitor to King Edward IV., when that monarch, deeply struck with her beauty, which was naturally heightened by that interest which is uniformly created by loveliness in misfortune, soon afterwards rendered her the partner of his throne. It is a fact rendered trite by repetition, that an alliance with royalty has ever been attended with the loss of happiness, and frequently with that of life; the fate of Lady Jane Grey, as well as that of her family, not only affords a melancholy confirmation of the assertion, but another instance is to be found in the misery which attended the last years of the interesting Elizabeth Woodville. Much as has been written about this celebrated woman, a document under her own hand appears to have escaped general notice, and this circumstance, united to the consideration of her being the great-great-

[a] Dugdale's *Baronage*, tome i. p. 719.

grandmother of Lady Jane, as well as the progenitress of every monarch who has ascended the throne since the death of Richard III., will perhaps justify its being here introduced. It is well known that Henry VII., on pretences as absurd as they were cruel, and which can only be attributed to the jealousy of his disposition, seized on all his mother-in-law's possessions, when she retired, or as is more probable, was confined to the Abbey of Bermondsey, in which place she died. Of her destitute condition, and the deep sense which she entertained of it, we have a most affecting memorial in her Will, and a more plaintive record of her love for her children, and her sorrow that she had nothing but her blessing to bequeath to them, could not be imagined.

"In Dei Nomine. The xth day of April, the year of our Lord God, M.CCCC.LXXXXII. I Elizabeth, by the grace of God, Queen of England, late wife to the most victorious Prince of blessed memory, Edward IV., being of whole mind; seeing the world so transitory, and no creature certain, when they shall depart from hence, having Almighty God fresh in mind, in whom is all mercy and grace, bequeath my soul into his hands, beseeching him of the same mercy to accept it graciously; and our blessed Lady, Queen of comfort, and all the holy company of Heaven to be good means for me.

"Item, I bequeath my body to be buried with the body of my lord at Windsor, according to the will of my said lord and mine, without pompes entreing[a] or costly expences done thereabouts.

"Item, Whereas I have no worldly goods to do the Queen's grace, my dearest daughter, a pleasure with, neither to reward any of my children according to my heart and mind, I beseech Almighty God to bless her grace with all her noble issue, and with as good heart and mind as is to me possible, I give her grace my blessing, and all the aforesaid my children.

"Item, I will that such small stuff and goods that I have, be disposed truly in contentation of my debts, and for the health of my soul, as far as they will extend.

"Item, If any of my blood will any of my said stuff or goods to me pertaining, I will that they have the preferment before any other,[b] and of this my present Testament, I make and ordain mine executors, that is to say, John Ingilby, Prior of the Charter House of Shene, William Sutton, and Thomas Brent, Doctors; and I beseech my said dearest daughter, the Queen's

[a] Without a pompous Funeral.

[b] This bequest must mean, that in the event of her kindred being desirous of possessing any of her goods, to keep in remembrance of her, they might be allowed to purchase it in preference to strangers.

grace, and my son Thomas, Marquess of Dorset, to put their good wills, and help for the performance of this my Testament.

"In witness whereof, to this my present Testament, I have set my seal; these witnesses, John, Abbot of Saint Saviour of Bermondsey, and Benedictus Cum, Doctor of Physick. Given the year and day aforesaid."[a]

Cold and unenviable indeed must be the heart of that person, who can peruse this affecting testimony of the once lovely Queen of England's destitution, without being moved with contempt at the author of her misfortunes, more particularly when it is remembered, that he who thus persecuted an unprotected female, was the husband of her daughter!

Thomas, Lord Grey of Groby, Queen Elizabeth's eldest son by her first husband, was created Earl of Huntingdon by his father-in-law, in 1471, but which title he soon afterwards resigned, and was created Marquess of Dorset, on the 18th April, 1475, and was also elected a Knight of the Garter; but on Edward IV.'s demise, his relationship to the young monarch rendered him an object of suspicion, and he was attainted of high treason in the first year of Richard III.: on the

[a] *Royal Wills*, 1780, 4to. p. 350.

accession of Henry VII. he was, however, fully restored to his honours, and dying in 1501, was succeeded in his dignities by his son Thomas, second Marquess of Dorset, who was a celebrated soldier, and in that age of chivalry often distinguished himself at jousts and tournaments; he was also elected a Knight of the Garter, and died in 1530. His son and heir, Henry Grey, inherited all his father's honors, namely, the Marquisate of Dorset, and the Baronies of Ferrers of Groby, Astley, Bonville, and Harington, the two latter of which dignities were acquired by the marriage of Thomas, the first Marquess, with Cecily Bonville, who inherited the Barony of Harington from her father, and that of Bonville from her great-grandfather.

The monotonous details of genealogy must now be succeeded by a relation of those interesting events, which produced the fall of this illustrious house. Henry Grey, Marquess of Dorset, when he succeeded to the honors of his family, may be considered, in point of rank, as one of the most powerful noblemen of his times; in the first year of the reign of his kinsman, Edward VI., he was constituted Lord High Constable for that Monarch's coronation, and was elected a Knight of the Garter; in 1550, 4 Edw. VI., he was appointed Justice Itinerant of all the King's forests;

and in the next year Warden of the East, West, and Middle Marshes towards Scotland; at an early period of his life he was betrothed to Katherine Fitz-Alan, daughter of William, Earl of Arundel, a connection perfectly suited to his birth, and which was sufficiently splendid to satisfy whatever aristocratic feelings he might possess, without being attended with danger to himself or his posterity. This lady is presumed to have died without issue,[a] and he soon afterwards formed that alliance which proved so unfortunate in its consequences, by marrying Lady Frances Brandon, eldest daughter of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, by Mary, widow of Louis XII. King of France, second daughter of King Henry VII., and youngest sister of King Henry VIII; the character of the Marquess of Dorset appears to have been that of a quiet unambitious man, for although some writers have described him as not deficient either in ambition or courage, none have attributed any quality to him which could render him a dangerous subject, and perhaps Dugdale's remark is not far from the truth, when he observes, that in consequence of his marriage, and the death of his wife's brothers without children, "he was, in fa-

[a] Some remarks on this alliance, which has been the subject of much discussion, will be found towards the conclusion of the memoir.

vour to her, though otherwise for his harmless simplicity, neither misliked nor much regarded, created Duke of Suffolk."

Lady Jane Grey, their eldest daughter, is supposed to have been born at Bradgate, in Leicestershire, about the year 1537, and was through her mother, grand niece of Henry VIII., and consequently first cousin once removed to his son and successor Edward VI. Of her early years we have no account, nor does it appear likely that they should present subjects for biography; it is manifest that her education was carefully attended to, for her eulogists describe her as having been deeply versed in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Chaldaic, Arabic, French, and Italian, but this assertion must be received with great caution; that she possessed acquirements, now properly deemed neither requisite nor useful in female education, cannot be doubted; but it would be absurd to attribute to her much proficiency in seven languages, when a long life would scarcely be sufficient to attain even half that number with correctness; especially as the same partial writers inform us, that she played well on musical instruments, and excelled in works of the needle. The fact probably was, that the pedantry which in that age was frequently mistaken for learning, had caused the tutors of Lady Jane to give her a slight knowledge of each of the different

languages in question, but for any purpose of utility, it is very questionable if her knowledge extended beyond Greek, Latin, and French. Her principal preceptor is said to have been John Aylmer, afterwards Bishop of London, though her biographers attribute part of her acquirements to Roger Ascham. It would be useless to follow the example of a recent writer on the times of Lady Jane Grey, by speculating upon what books formed her library, or to fill up from imagination the minute circumstances in the life of a young female, which it is impossible should be preserved for above three hundred years, and which, if recorded, would scarcely merit attention. It is an error of frequent occurrence in biography, to suppose that the early years of those who attain celebrity must exhibit some traits of a peculiar nature, and hence every school-boy feat, or childish expression, which if the individuals had remained in obscurity would have received no more notice than it deserved, is presented in the most vivid colours as the prognostications of that genius or courage, which rendered them in after life the subject of public consideration. Until Lady Jane was made the sacrifice of parental ambition, her life appears to have presented no other features of superiority than what might naturally have been expected from the possession of a strong natural understanding, cul-

tivated and improved by a learned education, and an innate love of letters. Her disposition, we are informed, was peculiarly mild and unassuming, and she was certainly early impressed with a full sense of the duties and value of religion.

After the death of Henry VIII., in 1547, his widow, Queen Katherine Parr, resided at Chelsea, and we have evidence that Lady Jane Grey was her guest, both before and subsequent to her Majesty's union with Lord Seymour of Sudley, the Lord Admiral. At this time though Lady Jane had but just attained her eleventh year, her marriage became an object of serious consideration to those most interested in the event, and it is an unquestionable fact, that the disposal of her hand was conceded by her parents to the Lord Admiral; the cause of this promise can only be conjectured, but it is evident that he placed the highest value on it, and he appears to have been actuated by the hope of rendering her the instrument of his ambitious projects. In September, 1548, whilst she was residing with the Queen Dowager at Hanworth, her Majesty died, and it was the first intention of Lord Seymour to send her to her own home, but he very soon altered his resolution. In a recent life of Lady Jane Grey,[a] a very curious correspond-

[a] *Lady Jane Grey and her Times*, by George Howard, Esq. 8vo. p. 156.

ence is given between his Lordship and the Marquess and Marchioness of Dorset on the subject of her return, from which it is clear that Seymour was anxious to retain her, whilst her parents were naturally desirous to have her under their own roof, probably not deeming a man of the Lord Admiral's calculating, and somewhat suspicious character, the proper guardian for their daughter. From the Marquess' letter we also obtain proof of the promise having been made to Seymour relative to her marriage; for, after stating that he deemed a mother's protection and guidance of essential importance to his daughter, he adds, "my meaning herein is not to withdraw any part of my promise to you for her bestowing; for I assure your Lordship, I intend, God willing, to use your discreet advice and consent in that behalf, and no less than mine own." The address of the Marchioness' letter to Lord Seymour is rather amusing; she styles him her good brother, and herself his sister, though the only connection between them was, that the Lord Admiral's wife was the widow of the Marchioness' uncle, King Henry VIII.! The result of this correspondence was, however, Lady Jane's return to her father's mansion, but the Lord Admiral's plans did not admit of her being long from under his immediate care, and after repeated efforts to render her his guest, it may be inferred that he

actually bribed her father to part with her. This singular fact is placed beyond controversy by a paper, cited by Mr. Howard,[a] written by the Marquess of Dorset himself, after the Lord Admiral's[b] trial, wherein he states that it was his determination not to have permitted her to return to Seymour, but that the Lord Admiral went himself to Dorset House, "and was so earnest in persuasion, that he could not resist him, amongst the which persuasions was that he would marry her to the King's Majesty," and lest an opposition might be caused by the Marchioness, Sir William Skerington was employed by Seymour to overcome her reluctance. The most curious part of the transaction is the bribe alluded to, and though the fact is stated by the author just quoted, he does not seem to have viewed it in this light. We are informed that Lady Jane returned to Hanworth, when Seymour immediately sent her father 500*l.* "as it were for an earnest

[a] *Lady Jane Grey and her Times*, p. 161.

[b] Mr. Howard, in common with most other writers, erroneously speaks of the Lord Admiral as Lord Sudley; his proper designation was Lord Seymour of Sudley, he having been created Baron Seymour of Sudley, in the county of Gloucester, on the 16th February, 1547. The error is as great as it would be to call Lord Ducie, Lord Tortworth, because that nobleman is Baron Ducie of Tortworth, in the county of Gloucester.

penny of the favor that he would shew unto him, and which sum formed part of 2000*l.* that he had promised to lend him, and for which he refused any bond, saying that the Lady Jane should be his pledge!" These facts being admitted by the Marquess of Dorset, no other conclusion can be drawn, than that when all other means of persuasion failed, Seymour took advantage of his pecuniary wants, and promised to lend him the large sum above mentioned; but it appears that no part of the money was to be paid until he had the object of his solicitude in his own hands, and then a fourth part only was produced.

In 1549 Lord Seymour was beheaded, and it is not quite certain whether the allusion noticed by Mr. Howard in a letter from the Marquess of Dorset to the Duke of Somerset, relative to a projected alliance between Lady Jane and the Earl of Hertford, the Duke's son, was before or after that event; but the very cautious manner in which he speaks of it, "Item, for the marriage of your Grace's son to be had with my daughter Jane, I think it not meet to be written, but I shall at all times avouch my saying," favours the belief that it was during his life-time. It appears a point however of some doubt, whether, notwithstanding the jealousy which existed on the part of the Lord Admiral towards his brother the Protector, the

plan of strengthening the influence of their family, by marrying Lady Jane to Lord Hertford, was not the motive of Seymour's exertions to keep her in his power; for as he had no children, nor any nearer relation eligible in point of years to be her husband, we cannot account for the extraordinary interest he evinced about her marriage, unless we imagine that in the event of his views relative to the Princess Elizabeth failing, he himself contemplated making her his wife. The former of these conjectures is supported by the fact, that at the time when he displayed such anxiety about Lady Jane Grey he had become reconciled to his brother; and the latter, by the recollection that as the disparity of years between him and the Princess Elizabeth formed no obstacle to his ambitious plans, he would not have deemed the slight difference of four years between her age and that of Lady Jane an impediment, had his interest tended to make a union with her desirable. At this distance of time it must be useless to investigate the subject, and the probable conclusion to be drawn from the conduct of the Lord Admiral in relation to Lady Jane Grey is, that he was merely anxious to obtain the power of disposing of her when she became of a marriageable age, in such a manner as would best advance his views or support his interest, without at that time being determined

whether he should espouse her, or whether she should become the wife of his nephew, or of some other nobleman on whom he could depend.

Such, in all probability, were the speculations relative to this amiable girl in her childhood, and who even at that early period of her life seemed destined to be the victim of ambition. At no period of our history was the detestable disposition to render every connection subservient to political purposes so much the prevailing feeling, as in the reigns of the Tudors; the ties of friendship or of kindred were seldom suffered to interfere, when opposed to the prospect of advancement; self interest superseded every other consideration, and little as honesty and generosity are to be looked for in courtiers, the total absence of these virtues was never so manifested as when that dynasty swayed the English sceptre. In 1551, Roger Ascham, Lady Jane's early tutor, visited her at Bradgate, previous to his departure for Germany, and his account of the interview affords interesting information of her pursuits and disposition: he states, that on his arrival he found that the Marquess and Marchioness of Dorset, with their attendants, were hunting in the park, and that Lady Jane was in her chamber reading the Phædo of Plato, in Greek; and to his inquiry why she did not join in the amusement in which her family were engaged,

she replied with a smile, "I wisse [think] all their sport in the park is but a shadow to that pleasure that I find in Plato—alas, good folk, they never felt what true pleasure means." Ascham then enquired, "and how came you, madam, to this deep knowledge of pleasure, and what did chiefly allure you unto it, seeing not many women, but very few men have attained thereunto?"—"I will tell you," she replied, "and tell you a truth, which perchance you will marvel at. One of the greatest benefits that ever God gave me, is that he sent me so sharp and severe parents, and so gentle a schoolmaster, for when I am in presence either of father or mother, whether I speak, keep silence, sit, stand, or go, eat, drink, be merry, or sad, be sewing, playing, dancing, or doing any thing else, I must do it as it were in such weight, measure, and number, even so perfectly as God made the world; or else I am so sharply taunted, so cruelly threatened, yea, presently sometimes with pinches, nips, and bobs, and other ways, which I will not name for the honour I bear them; so without measure disordered, that I think myself in hell till the time come that I must go to Mr. Elmer, who teacheth me so gently, so pleasantly, with such fair allurements to learning, that I think all the time nothing, whilst I am with him; and when I am called from him I fall on weeping, because what-

soever I do else but learning is full of great trouble, fear, and whole misliking unto me; and thus my book hath been so much my pleasure, and bringeth daily to me more pleasure, and more that in respect of it all other pleasures in very deed be but trifles and troubles unto me." A long letter from Ascham to Lady Jane after this interview, which is the last he ever had with her, dated in January 1551-2, is extant, containing the most encouraging expressions to prosecute her studies, but mixed with the grossest, and when it is considered that it was directed to a girl not quite fifteen years old, the most injudicious flattery. If such was the tone in which her tutors addressed her, she must have been endowed with an extraordinary strength of mind not to have become the most consummate pedant; and from this and other specimens of the homage paid her by several learned men, our contempt for these literary sycophants is lost in admiration of Lady Jane's character, that though thus courted, she should have retained her native diffidence and humility. It has been suggested that the extraordinary, if not ridiculous, attention paid her by the most eminent reformers with whom she was contemporary, arose from an idea which is supposed to have been prevalent that she was destined to have been the consort of her cousin Edward VI. If such was the cause of these

fulsome addresses the motive may lessen, but it cannot excuse a recourse to means so disgraceful to induce her to become the champion of their party.

The advocates of the reformation with justice claimed Lady Jane Grey as a proselyte to their faith: this attachment to the protestant doctrines may be attributed to her tutors, and to her intercourse with Queen Catharine Parr; and it became so deeply rooted in her heart, that as she afterwards evinced, no temptation, not even the promise of life and fortune, was sufficiently powerful to induce her to abandon them, and she has consequently been considered by the reformed writers as fully entitled to the crown of martyrdom. It must have been about this period that her first epistle in Latin to Henry Bullinger, one of the most distinguished of the protestant divines, which with a translation will be found in this volume, was written, and as each of these three celebrated letters are signed with her maiden name, it is certain that they were all composed before her marriage. How far they may be deemed Lady Jane's entire composition is at least problematical; she was then above fourteen, and had certainly studied the Latin language for many years, but on the other hand, it is very likely that her preceptor should have corrected, if he

did not wholly write them, and the conjecture that they were sufficiently her own to justify their being so considered, but that Aylmer prevented any gross inaccuracy from appearing in them, is probably not far from the real fact. On the 11th of October, 1551, Edward VI. raised the Marquess of Dorset to the Dukedom of Suffolk, a dignity which became extinct on the death of the Marchioness' half-brother Henry Brandon, Duke of of Suffolk, in that year, without issue; and on the same day, John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, was created Duke of Northumberland. Lady Jane Grey had then just attained her fourteenth year, and is considered to have first appeared in public in her mother's train, on the occasion of the visit of Mary, the Dowager Queen of Scotland to the Court at Greenwich, and she shortly afterwards became the guest of the Princess Mary. Fox recites an anecdote that occured during her visit, which conspicuously displays the quickness of her wit. She was invited by Lady Anne Wharton, who apparently was the daughter of George, Earl of Shrewsbury, and second wife of Thomas, first Lord Wharton, and was probably one of the attendants of the Princess, to accompany her in a walk, and passing in their road the Princess' Chapel, Lady Anne made the customary obeisance of a Catholic to a place of worship, from the Host

always being contained therein. Her companion not comprehending the object of her respect, asked if the Princess Mary were in the chapel, and was answered in the negative, with the explanation that she had made her curtesy to him that made us all, "how can he be there that made us all," ingeniously observed Lady Jane, "when the baker made him?" "This answer," Fox asserts, "coming to the Lady Mary's ears, she did never love her after, as is credibly reported, but esteemed her as the rest of that christian profession."[a] Somerset, who had resigned the Protectorship three years before, was at the instigation of the Duke of Northumberland, who deemed him an obstacle to his plans, arrested in October, 1552, and in December following, he was arraigned on the charges of high treason and felony; and after a trial which Hume describes as being attended with more formality than was usual at that period, he was acquitted of treason, but adjudged guilty of felony, for which crime his judges condemned him to death. Considerable care had been taken by Dudley, to prevent any merciful intentions arising in the breast of Edward to impede his uncle's execution, and to the lively grief of the people, this once powerful nobleman was beheaded on Tower-hill, on the 22nd January, 1553.

[a] *Acts and Monuments.*

The young monarch, naturally of a weak constitution, and who had in the preceding year been attacked both with the measles and small-pox, caught a severe cold at the commencement of the year 1553, which so seriously affected his health, that being unable to meet the Parliament, which assembled in March, at Westminster, they were obliged to attend his Majesty at Whitehall, and after sitting only a month it was dissolved. The health of the king now became the subject of considerable anxiety, as symptoms of a consumptive nature shewed themselves, and though much hope was placed in his youth and temperance, great fears were expressed as to the result of his illness. It was at this crisis that the germs of Northumberland's ambition budded with vigour and effect: and as he had not the slightest pretensions to the royal dignity himself, it became the object of his most anxious wishes to produce an alliance between his family and the blood royal. For this purpose Lady Jane Grey presented an unexceptionable opportunity; as the daughter of the Duke of Suffolk, the union with his son was an alliance equal in every respect to her expectations, hence he could scarcely anticipate an obstacle to the proposition; and to a mind disposed to bend every thing to its wishes, and possessed of sufficient power to effect what it desired, the following facts

afforded his intended daughter-in-law some pretensions to the throne. Henry VIII. had under the authority of Parliament, by his will entailed the crown, first on his son, Edward Prince of Wales, and his issue; in default of which on his daughter the Princess Mary and her children; and if she died issueless, on his daughter the Princess Elizabeth and her descendants: in the event of their decease without lawful issue, the royal dignity was, contrary to the general rules of succession, to descend to the children of his nieces, the daughters of his younger sister, Mary, Queen Dowager of France, then the wife of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk; namely, Lady Frances, afterwards Duchess of Suffolk, and Lady Eleanor, who married the Earl of Cumberland. In this settlement of the crown,[a] two peculiarities are to be observed; first, that the descendants of his Majesty's *eldest* sister Margaret, Queen of Scotland, were removed, to make way for the descendants of his *youngest* sister; and, what is still more singular, under that settlement, his nieces themselves never could have succeeded to the

[a] For a full account of the Statutes passed relative to the succession during the reign of Henry VIII., under two of which he derived the power to limit the descent of the Crown by his Will, the reader is referred to a note at the end of the memoir.

throne, but the eldest son, or the issue of the eldest son; or in default of issue male, the eldest daughter, or the child of the eldest daughter of Frances, Duchess of Suffolk, would have inherited the crown, even if the Duchess had been still living: an anomaly so glaring, that it can only be accounted for on the supposition, that when Henry's will was framed, the possibility of his nieces' surviving his children, who were all many years younger than their cousins, was not contemplated. This disposition of the royal dignity, had been solemnly ratified by Parliament,[a] so that on the demise of Edward VI., his half-sister Mary, was the undoubted heiress to the throne, according to the laws of descent, that regulated the succession previous to the Testament of her father, and likewise agreeable to the express provisions in that instrument; but as Henry's marriages with Katharine of Arragon and Ann Boleyn, had both been declared null and void, the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth were thereby rendered illegitimate. Under these circumstances, and actuated by motives which cannot be mistaken, Dudley was anxious to secure the hand of Lady Jane, for his fourth son, Lord Guildford Dud-

[a] 35 Hen. VIII. cap. i. and 1 Edw. VI. Cap. xii. see the note at the end of the memoir.

ley, his three other sons being already married; and as no objections were urged by her parents, the union took place about the end of May, in 1553; for the state of the monarch's health was too precarious to admit of delay, and Northumberland's object would not have been secured, had he obtained the wished for alteration in the succession, before the future Queen had become the wife of his son. This important point gained, it only remained for the crafty statesman to avail himself of every means to influence Edward to make such a disposition of the Crown, as would complete his ambitious designs. As he was thoroughly aware of the young monarch's stedfast attachment to the reformed religion, and as Mary had unequivocally displayed her resolute adherence to the old faith, he possessed powerful arguments with which to persuade Edward to set aside his sister, by making a new settlement of the throne. Having thus the amiable monarch's religious fears to work upon, when he was in that state which induces men to think seriously of their eternal welfare, and when they are feverishly eager to grasp at every means which they are advised will tend to it, can it be a matter of surprize, that he should have yielded to Northumberland's representations and entreaties? We are informed that the King was

much pleased when acquainted with his cousin's marriage, and in his dying hours he evidently considered that she would be his successor. After the monarch's consent had been gained, it became necessary for Dudley to procure that of the Council, and the ground on which the alteration in the succession was urged, was, that Mary had been declared illegitimate by Act of Parliament;[a] but as it was not sufficient for his purpose that she should be rendered incapable of inheriting the crown, unless her half-sister Elizabeth was included in the disability, the dissolution of the marriage of her mother,[b] by which she had in effect also been bastardized, was urged with considerable plausibility, both to the Sovereign and his Council. Edward would probably gladly have settled the royal dignity on the Princess Elizabeth, whose attachment to the protestant religion was generally admitted, but the injustice would have been too flagrant had the Act of Parliament which incapaciated Mary been revived, whilst that which created a similar inability in Elizabeth, remained unnoticed. If Edward's earnest wishes for the security of the new religion were to be realized, but one course was open, and which was ultimately adopted, by his settling the

[a] 25 Hen. VIII. cap. xix.

[b] 28 Hen. VIII. cap. vii.

crown on a protestant. To effect this object, however, considerable caution was necessary; and as it is an undisputed fact, that no arrangement would have obtained Dudley's concurence, which did not tend to vest the sceptre in the hand of his daughter-in-law, the alteration from the course prescribed by the will of Henry, was certainly as slight and as apparently consonant to justice, as was possible. Edward is said to have objected, that if Mary and Elizabeth were set aside, the Duchess of Suffolk would be the next heir, but this statement must either be an unfounded conjecture, or made in ignorance of the facts of the case, for in no way could she have been heir to the crown. By the laws of descent, the next heir to the throne, after the disqualification of the two Princesses, was the celebrated Mary, Queen of Scots, mother of James I., she being the daughter and heiress of James V., King of Scotland, son and heir of James IV. of Scotland, by Margaret, the *eldest* sister of Henry VIII.;[a] and, as has been already remarked, the will of that monarch never created a right in the mother of Lady Jane Grey, though the crown was limited to her daughters, a circumstance which is totally unnoticed by Hume, and by most other historians. Thus, if Mary and Elizabeth were

[a] Vide the accompanying Genealogical Table.

disqualified, Lady Jane Grey, was, according to the provisions in her grand-uncle's will, the undoubted heiress to the throne, and considering the violent change which was created in the succession by Edward, in prefering his cousin to his half-sister, the grounds on which it was effected were certainly extremely plausible, for it was simply to revive the statutes which had declared Henry's first and second marriages void, and then to act upon the other parts of the settlement under that monarch's will, in the same manner as if death had rendered the two Princesses as naturally, as their being declared illegitimate would have made them legally incapable of succeeding to the royal, or to any other dignity. It is very far from the object of these remarks, to defend the venality of Henry's Parliaments, which so entirely rendered themselves the instrument of their sovereign's lust and caprice; a venality which has never been so beautifully described by a native, as by a foreign pen, and the justice of which will excuse the introduction of the passage alluded to: it is supposed to be the reply of Mary Queen of Scot's, to the arguments of Burleigh, that no tribunal could be more impartial, than that before which she was about to be arraigned, as its members were selected from the chief nobility of England.

"Yes, truly; were these Lords as you describe them,
I must be mute; my cause beyond all hope
Were lost, if such a Court pronounce me guilty.
But, Sir, these names, which you are pleased to praise,
These very men, whose weight you think will crush me,
I see performing in the history
Of these dominions, very different parts:
I see this high nobility of England,
This grave majestic Senate of the realm,
Like to an eastern monarch's vilest slaves,
Flatter my uncle Henry's sultan fancies:
I see this noble rev'rend House of Lords,
Venal alike with the corrupted Commons,
Make Statutes and annul them, ratify
A marriage, and dissolve it, as the voice
Of power commands: to-day it disinherits,
And brands the royal daughters of the realm
With the vile name of bastards, and to-morrow
Crowns them as Queen's, and leads them to the throne.
I see them in four reigns, with pliant conscience,
Four times abjure their faith; renounce the Pope
With Henry, yet retain the old belief;
Reform themselves with Edward; hear the Mass
Again with Mary; with Elizabeth,
Who governs now, reform themselves again."[a]

Though Edward and the Council had acceded to Northumberland's plans, it appears that both menace and flattery were used to obtain the approbation of the Judges. Sir Edward Montague, the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, together

[a] Schiller's *Mary Stuart.*

with Sir John Baker and Sir Thomas Bromley, two of the other Judges, and the Attorney and Solicitor General, being summoned before the Council, the proposed succession was explained to them; when they were commanded by the King to draw up the intended instrument, in the form of Letters Patent. They hesitated to obey, desiring time to consider of it, and according to Hume, the more they reflected, the greater danger they found in compliance. They urged that the settlement of the crown by Henry VIII. had not only been confirmed by an Act of Parliament, but by another Act passed in the early part of Edward's reign it was declared treason, in any one, to attempt to change the order of the succession, and they properly felt, that nothing but Parliament could legally alter the limitations as then settled, and advised the king to summons that assembly without delay: it was on the occasion of one of these discussions, that Dudley's zeal overpowered his discretion, as he is reported to have called Montague a traitor, and to have expressed his readiness to fight any man in his shirt, in so just a cause as the succession of Lady Jane. After many debates, Sir Edward Montague proposed an expedient, which the ingenuity of a lawyer only could have devised. He suggested that a special commission should be passed by the King and

Council, requiring the Judges to draw a Patent for the new settlement of the Crown, and that a pardon should immediately after be granted them for any offence which they might have committed by obeying the mandate. This expedient satisfied the Council and his colleagues, but when the Patent was drawn, and brought to James Goodriche, Bishop of Ely, the Chancellor, to receive the great seal, he refused to affix it, unless the whole of the Judges should previously sign it. All of them acceded to the request without difficulty, excepting Sir John Hales, one of the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas, and William Gosnold, the Solicitor General; the latter intimitated by the violent threats of Northumberland, at length complied; but Hales, though a protestant, could not be prevailed upon to do violence to his conscience, "preferring," adds Hume, "on this occasion, justice to the prejudices of his party." The Chancellor's scruples were however not yet satisfied, and he next required, that all the Privy Councillors should likewise sign it; and the influence of Northumberland was so extensive, that each of them thus testified his consent to the important document.

It may be expected that more should be said on Lady Jane's marriage, but little beyond conjecture can be expressed as to how far her own

inclinations coincided with the choice of her parents; but the presumption is in favour of affection being as predominant in her union, as was usual in marriages at that period, between parties of their rank in life. According to some authorities, Lady Katharine Grey, her sister, was married on the same day, to her first husband, William Lord Herbert, son and heir of Henry, first Earl of Pembroke, but from whom she was afterwards divorced. These nuptials we are told, were celebrated with great splendour; from the time of her marriage, until the death of Edward, it has been said[a] that she resided with her husband's family at Sion House, and as a proof of her studies not having been neglected, it is stated that her third letter to Bullinger, was written from that mansion; but this assertion is however erroneous, for it will be seen in a subsequent page, not only that the letter in question was signed with her maiden name, but she expressly observes: "Magnaque præterea mihi spes est te huic mea plusquam muliebri audatiæ, *quæ virgo* ad virum, et indocta ad eruditionis patrem scribere audeam, ignoscere," from which passage it is manifest that it was written before her marriage.

Edward VI. died on the 6th of July, 1553,

[a] *Lady Jane Grey and her Times*, p. 220.

and it of course became necessary that the new succession should be instantly promulgated. Historians concur in stating, that until the monarch's decease, Lady Jane was not only totally uninformed of the important measures which her father-in-law had taken in her favour, but that she received the intimation of them, and of the greatness which awaited her, with the deepest sorrow. It matters but little in what manner the news was imparted to her, whether, as is stated by Hume, on the authority of Thuanus, Burnet, and Heylyn, by Northumberland and her own father, together with the Earl of Pembroke, and some of the other nobility, approaching her with the respect due to royalty; or privately by her mother; but it is of considerable value in estimating her character, that her conduct on the occasion should be fully examined. Her excellent judgment probably taught her the real dangers of her situation, and the humility of her heart prevented that judgment from being blinded by the dazzling offer of the imperial diadem. We are expressly told, that at first she resolutely refused the proffered dignity, urging with no less good sense than justice, the superior claims of her cousins, the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth; and in reply to their arguments, Heylyn states, "that Northumberland's speech being ended, the poor

lady found herself in a great perplexity, not knowing whether she should more lament the death of the King, or her adoption to the kingdom: the first loss not to be repaired; the next care possible to be avoided. She looked upon the crown as a great temptation, to resist which, she stood in need of all the helps, which both philosophy and divinity could suggest unto her. And she knew also that such fortunes seldom knocked twice for entrance at the same man's gate; but that if once refused they are gone for ever. Taking sometime, therefore, for deliberation, she summoned a council of her purest thoughts; by whose advice, half drowned in tears (either as sorrowing for the King's death, or foreseeing her own), she returned an answer in these words, or to this effect:—"That the laws of the kingdom, and natural right standing for the King's sister, she would beware of burthening her weak conscience with a yoke which did belong to them; that she understood the infamy of those who had permitted the violation of right to gain a sceptre; that it were to mock God, and deride justice, to scruple at the stealing of a shilling, and not at the usurpation of a crown. —'Besides,' said she, 'I am not so young, nor so little read in the guiles of fortune, as to suffer myself to be taken by them. If she enrich any, it is but to make them the subject of her

spoil; if she raise others, it is but to pleasure herself with their ruins. What she adored but yesterday, to day is her pastime. And if I now permit her to adorn and crown me, I must tomorrow suffer her to crush and tear me to pieces. Nay, with what crown doth she present me? A crown which hath been violently and shamefully wrested from Catharine of Arragon; made more unfortunate by the punishment of Ann Bulloign, and others that wore it after her. And why then would you have me add my blood to theirs; and be the third victim from whom this fatal crown may be ravished with the head that wears it? But in case it should not prove fatal unto me, and that all its venom were consumed; if fortune should give me warranties of her constancy; should I be well advised to take upon me these thorns which would dilacerate, though not kill me outright; to burthen myself with a yoke which would not fail to torment me, though I were assured not to be strangled with it? My liberty is better than the chain you proffer me, with what precious stones soever it be adorned, or of what gold soever framed. I will not exchange my peace for honourable and precious jealousies, for magnificent and glorious fetters. And if you love me sincerely, and in good earnest, you will rather wish me a secure and quiet fortune, though mean, than an exalted condition

exposed to the wind, and followed by some dismal fall.'"

Happy would it have been had she persevered in so wise a determination, but the vehement solicitations of her father, and especially of Northumberland, her father-in-law, ultimately overcame her reluctance, and a resolution which the suggestions of ambition could not seduce, gave way to the entreaties and commands, rather than to the arguments of her parents. A husband's has been said to have been added to parental authority on the occasion, and as Mr. Howard has well remarked, "Lord Guildford Dudley, dazzled by so brilliant a destiny, was prevailed on to add the accents of love, to the wiles of ambition, and beyond this female fortitude could not be expected to go." A motive to her acquiescence more powerful than any that have been hitherto attributed to her, is to be found in her reflection on the imminent danger in which those nearest to her heart were placed, and which nothing but her possession of the royal dignity could avert. The failure of a treasonable plot never fails to produce the destruction of those who created it, and she might reasonably have expected that the hour which saw Mary secure on the throne, would have been the last of the existence of her father, and the father of her husband. This dreadful truth must

have flashed on Lady Jane's mind, and she naturally adopted the only step which could possibly secure their safety. If this feeling operated on her judgment, and every circumstance tends to persuade us that it did, her character appears in a new and more lovely light, than it has before been exhibited; we see her thus consenting to incur the utmost personal peril, by adopting a course contrary to the dictates of her conscience, with the desperate hope of preserving her family. Her consent thus extorted from her, she was the next day conveyed by her father-in-law with great state to the Tower, which fortress, according to long established etiquette, had been the residence of the Sovereigns for the first few day after their accession; and she was immediately afterwards proclaimed Queen of England, with the usual formalities, and in the following words:

"Jane, by the grace of God, Queen of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith and of the Church of England, and also of Ireland, under Christ on earth the supreme head. To all our loving, faithful, and obedients, and to every of them, greeting. Whereas our most dear cousin Edward the Sixth, late King of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and on earth the supreme head under Christ of the Church of England and Ireland, by his letters patent, signed

with his own hand, and sealed with his great seal of England, bearing date the 21st day of June, in the viith year of his reign, in the presence of the most part of his nobles, his counsellors, judges, and divers other grave and sage personages, for the profit and surety of the whole realm thereto assenting, and subscribing their names to the same, hath by the same his letters patents recited that, forasmuch as the imperial crown of this realm, by an act made in the thirty-fifth year of the reign of the late king of worthy memory, King Henry the VIII. our progenitor and great uncle, for lack of issue of his body lawfully begot, and for lack of issue of the body of our said late cousin King Edward the VI. by the same act limited and appointed to remain to the Lady Mary, by the name of the Lady Mary, his eldest daughter, and to the heirs of her body lawfully begot, and for the default of such issue the remainder thereof to the Lady Elizabeth, by the name of the Lady Elizabeth, his second daughter, and to the heirs of her body lawfully begotten, with such conditions as should be limited and appointed by the said late king of worthy memory, King Henry the Eight, our progenitor and great uncle, by his letters patents under the great seal, or by his last will in writing, signed with his hand. And, forasmuch as the said limitation of the imperial crown of

this realm, being limited as is aforesaid to the said Lady Mary and Lady Elizabeth being illegitimate, and not lawfully begotten, for that the marriage had between the said late king, King Henry the VIII., our progenitor and great uncle, and the Lady Katherine, mother to the said Lady Mary; and also the marriage had between the said late king, King Henry VIII., our progenitor and great uncle, and the Lady Anna, mother to the said Lady Elizabeth, were clearly and lawfully undone by sentences of divorces, according to the word of God, and the ecclesiastical laws, and which said several divorcements have been severally ratified and confirmed by authority of parliament, and especially in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of King Henry VIII., our progenitor and great uncle, remaining in force, strength, and effect, whereby as well the said Lady Mary, as also the said Lady Elizabeth, to all intents and purposes, are, and been thereby disabled to ask, claim, or challenge the said imperial crown, or any other of the honours, castles, manors, lordships, lands, tenements, or other hereditaments, as heir or heiress to our said late cousin, King Edward the VI., or as heir or heiress to any other person or persons whosoever, as well for the cause before rehearsed, as also for that the said Lady Mary and Elizabeth were unto our said

late cousin but of the half blood, and therefore by the ancient laws, statutes, and customs of this realm be not inheritable unto our said late cousin, although they had been born in lawful matrimony,[a] as indeed they were not, as by the said sentences of divorce, and the said statute of the twenty-eighth year of the reign of our King Henry VIII., our said progenitor and great uncle, plainly appeareth; and forasmuch also as it is to be thought, or at the least much to be doubted, that if the said Lady Mary or Lady Elizabeth should hereafter have and enjoy the said imperial crown of this realm, and should happen to marry with any stranger born out of this realm, that the said stranger having the government and the imperial crown in his hands would adhere and practise, not only to bring this noble free realm into the tyranny and

[a] The fallacy of this assertion, though sufficiently obvious at the present day, was not entirely destitute of force at the period in question; for perhaps it was not then so settled a point of law, that the rule of *possessio fratris*, does not apply to the Crown, or to any other dignity: Blackstone, *Commentaries*, Book I. Chap. iii. p. 193, in proof of the fact in relation to the descent of the Crown, cites Mary's having succeeded Edward VI. but as there was no such precedent when that succession was in dispute, it is not extraordinary that to suit the case in point, an attempt should have been made to assimilate the descent of the royal dignity with that of common inheritances.

servitude of the Bishop of Rome, but also to have the laws and customs of his or their own native country or countries to be practised and put in use within this realm, rather than the laws, statutes, and customs here of long time used, whereupon the title of inheritance of all and singular the subjects of this realm do depend, to the peril of conscience, and the utter subversion of the common weal of this realm. Whereupon our said late dear cousin, weighing and considering with himself what ways and means were most convenient to be had for the stay of the said succession in the said imperial crown, if it should please God to call our said late cousin out of this transitory life, having no issue of his body, and calling to his remembrance that we and the Lady Katherine and the Lady Mary, our sisters, being the daughters of the Lady Frances, our natural mother, and then and yet wife to our natural and most loving father, Henry, Duke of Suffolk, and the Lady Margaret, daughter of the Lady Eleanor then deceased sister to the said Lady Frances, and the late wife of our cousin Henry, Earl of Cumberland, were very nigh of his grace's blood, of the part of his father's side, our said progenitor and great uncle, and being naturally born here within the realm, and for the very good opinion our said late cousin had of our, and our said sisters and

cousin Margaret's good education, did therefore upon good deliberation and advice herein had and taken, by his said letters patents declare, order, assign, limit, and appoint, that if it should fortune himself, our said late cousin King Edward the Sixth to decease, having no issue of his body lawfully begotten, that then the said imperial crown of England and Ireland, and the confines of the same, and his title to the crown of the realm of France, and all and singular honours, castles, prerogatives, privileges, preliminaries, authorities, jurisdictions, dominions, possessions, and hereditaments, to our said late cousin, King Edward the Sixth, or to the said imperial crown belonging, or in anywise appertaining, should, for lack of such issue of his body remain, come, and be unto the eldest son of the body of the said Lady Frances lawfully begotten, and so from son to son, as he should be of ancienty in birth, of the body of the said Lady Frances lawfully begotten, being born into the world in our said cousin's life-time, and to the heirs-male of the body of every such son lawfully begotten: and for default of such son born into the world in his life-time, of the body of the said Lady Frances, lawfully begotten, and for lack of heirs-male of every such son lawfully begotten, that then the said imperial crown, and all and singular other the premises should remain,

come, and be to us, by the name of the Lady Jane, eldest daughter of the said Lady Frances, and to the heirs-male of our body lawfully begotten, that then the said imperial crown, and all other the premises, should remain, come, and be to the said Lady Katharine, our said second sister, and to the heirs-male of the body of the said Lady Katherine lawfully begotten, with divers other remainders, as by the same letters patents more plainly at large it may and doth appear. Sithens the making of which letters patents, that is to say, on Thursday, which was the sixth day of this instant, month of July, it hath pleased God to call to his infinite mercy our said most dear and entirely beloved cousin Edward the Sixth, whose soul God pardon, and forasmuch as he is now deceased having no heirs of his body begotten, and that also there remaineth at this present time no heirs lawfully begotten of the body of our said progenitor and great uncle, King Henry VIII. and forasmuch also as the said Lady Frances, our said mother, had no issue male begotten of her body, and born into the world in the life-time of our said cousin, King Edward the Sixth, so as the said imperial crown, and other the premises to the same belonging, or in anywise appertaining, now be, and remain to us in actual and royal possession, by authority of the said letters patents: We do there-

fore, by these presents, signify unto all our most loving, faithful, and obedient subjects, that like as we for our part shall, by God's grace, shew ourselves a most gracious and benign sovereign Queen, and Lady to all our good subjects, in all their just and lawful suits and causes, and to the uttermost of our power shall preserve and maintain God's most holy word, Christian Polity, and the good Lawes, Customs, and Liberties of these our realms and dominions; so we mistrust not, but they and every of them, will again, for their parts, at all times and in all cases, shew themselves unto us their natural liege Queen and Lady, most faithful, loving, and obedient subjects, according to their bounden duties and allegiances, whereby they shall please God, and do the thing that shall tend to their own preservations and sureties: willing and commanding all men of all estates, degrees, and conditions to see our peace and accord kept, and to be obedient to our laws, as they tender our favour, and will answer for the contrary at their extreme perils. In witness whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patents. Witness, ourself at our Tower of London, this tenth day of Julie, in the first year of our reign.'

"God save the Queen."[a]

[a] Lansdowne MSS. 198, f. 9-14, into which it is transcribed from the copy printed by Grafton, in 1553. There

It was the commands of the Council, that she should also be proclaimed throughout the kingdom, but these orders were executed only in London and its neighbourhood, and we are told that it was heard in silence, and with regret. Nor was the eloquence of the pulpit, which was zealously exerted in favour of her title, attended with success, as a proof of which, the sermon of Ridley, Bishop of London, who preached to the same purpose, produced no effect on his audience.

In the mean time, Mary was neither an unconcerned nor an idle spectator of this serious attempt to deprive her of her birthright. She wrote[a] to the Council on the 9th of July, claiming the Crown as her inheritance, and expressed her surprize that the demise of her brother had not been duly notified to her. The answer of the Council to this application, is too curious a document not to be given at length.

"Madam,

"We have received your letters, the ix of this instant, declaring your supposed title, which you judge yourself to have to the Imperial Crown of this realm, and all the dominions thereunto belonging. For answer whereof, this is to adver-

is also an imperfect copy of part of this Proclamation in Cottonian MSS., JULIUS F. vi. f. 194.

[a] Printed in Fox's *Acts and Monuments*, folio, p. 1567.

tise you, that for as much as our Sovereign Lady Queen Jane, is, after the death of our Sovereign Lord Edward VI., a prince of most noble memory; invested and possessed with the just and right title in the Imperial Crown of this realm, not only by good order of old ancient good laws of this realm, but also by our late Sovereign Lord's Letters Patent, signed with his own hand, and sealed with the great seal of England, in presence of the most part of the nobles, counsellors, judges, with divers other grave and sage personages assenting and subscribing to the same. We must therefore, as of most bound duty and allegiance, assent unto her said Grace, and to none other; except we should, which faithful subjects cannot, fall into grievous and unspeakable enormities, wherefore we can no less do, but for the quiet both of the realm and you, also to advertise you, that forasmuch as the divorce made between the King of famous memory, K. Henry VIII., and the Lady Katharine your mother, was necessary to be had both by the everlasting laws of God, and also by ecclesiastical laws, and also by the most part of the noble and learned universities of Christendom, and confirmed also by the sundry acts of Parliament remaining yet in their force, and thereby you justly made illegitimate and uninheritable to the Crown Imperial of this realm, and the rules, domi-

nions, and possessions of the same, you will upon just consideration hereof, and of divers other causes, lawful to be alleged for the same, and for the just inheritance of the right line and godly orders, taken by the late King, our Sovereign Lord King Edward VI., and agreed upon by the nobles and greatest personages aforesaid, surcease by any pretence to vex and molest any of our Sovereign Lady Queen Jane, her subjects, from their true faith and allegiance due unto her Grace: assuring you, that if you will for respect show yourself quiet and obedient, as you ought, you shall find us all and several ready to do you any service that we with duty may, and be glad with your quietness to preserve the common state of this realm, wherein you may be otherwise grievous unto us, to yourself, and to them. And thus we bid you most heartily well to fare. From the Tower of London, this ix of July, 1553.

"Your Ladyship's friends, shewing yourself an obedient subject.

"THOMAS CANTERBURY,
THE MARQUESS OF WINCHESTER,
JOHN BEDFORD,
W. NORTHAMPTON,
THOMAS ELY, CHANCELLOR,
NORTHUMBERLAND,
HENRY SUFFOLK,
HENRY ARUNDEL,
SHREWSBURY,
PEMBROKE,
COBHAM,
R. RITCH,
HUNTINGDON,
DARCY,
CHEYNY,
R. COTTON,
JOHN GATES,
W. PETER,
W. CICELLE,
JOHN CHEKE,
JOHN MASON,
EDW. NORTH,
R. BOWES."

Mary had removed from Hovesdon to her manor of Keninghall, in Norfolk; and as she had lately lost one of her household servants by the plague, the pretence for her journey was the fear of infection; but from Keninghall she very soon went to her castle of Framlingham, in Suffolk, where she assumed the royal title. The inhabitants of Suffolk tendered her their homage, as their legitimate sovereign, though they mingled their declarations of alarm for the reformed religion, with the assurances of loyalty; but when she pledged herself that she never meant to change the laws of the late monarch,[a] they enlisted themselves in her cause with considerable ardour. Many of the chief nobility and gentry daily flocked to her standard, and in a very short time she found herself in a situation to enforce by arms the pretensions which her birth and the laws of the Realm so unequivocally afforded her.

The three letters written in Lady Jane Grey's name, during her usurpation of the royal dignity, announcing her succession to the throne, and

[a] Fox relates, that when they afterwards prayed her to fulfil this promise, she replied: "for so much as you being but members, desire to rule your head, you shall one day well perceive that members must obey their head, and not look to bear rule over the same," *Acts and Monuments*, 1570, folio, p. 1568.

ordering certain measures to be taken to secure her in the possession of it, are too important to be omitted in this memoir.

"JANE, THE QUEEN,

"Right trusty and right well beloved Cousin, we greet you well, advertising the same, that whereas it hath pleased Almighty God to call to his mercy out of this life our dearest cousin the King your late Sovereign Lord, by reason whereof and such ordinances as the said late King did establish in his life time for the security and wealth of this Realm, we are entered into our rightful possession of this Kingdom, as by the last Will of our said dearest Cousin, our late progenitor, and other several instruments to that effect, signed with his own hand and sealed with the great Seal of this Realm in his own presence, whereunto the nobles of this realm for the most part and all our Council and Judges, with the Mayor and Aldermen of our City of London, and divers other grave personages of this our Realm of England have also subscribed their names as by the same will and instrument it may more evidently and plainly appear: We therefore do You to understand, that by the ordinance and sufferance of the heavenly Lord and King, and by the assent and consent of our said Nobles and

Counsellors, and others before specified, we do this day make our entry into our Tower of London, as rightful Queen of this Realm; and have accordingly set forth our proclamations to all our loving subjects giving them thereby to understand their duties and allegiance which they now of right owe unto us as more amply by the same you shall briefly perceive and understand; nothing doubting, right trusty and right well beloved Cousin, but that you will endeavour yourself in all things to the uttermost of your power, not only to defend our just title, but also assist us in our rightful possession of this Kingdom, and to disturb, repel, and resist the feigned and untrue claim of the Lady Mary, bastard daughter to our great uncle, Henry the Eight of famous memory: wherein as you shall do that which to your honour, truth, and duty appertaineth, so shall we remember the same unto you and yours accordingly. And our further pleasure is that you shall continue, do, and execute every thing and things as our Lieutenant within all places, according to the tenor of the Commission addressed unto you from our late Cousin, King Edward the vjth, in such and like sort as if the same had been, as we mind shortly it shall be, renewed, and by us confirmed under our Great Seal unto you.

"Given under our signet at our Tower of London the xjth of July the first year of our Reign.

"To our right trusty and right well beloved Cousin and Counsellor the Marquis of Northampton, our Lieutenant General of our County of Surrey, and to our trusty and well beloved the Deputies of that Lieutenancy, and the Sheriff, the chief Justices of Peace, and the worshipful of that Shire."[a]

By the Queen.

"JANE, the Queen,

"Trusty and well beloved we greet you well. Albeit that our estate in this imperial Crown whereof we be actually and really possessed, as partly may appear by our Proclamation, wherein our title is published, is not, nor can be in any wise doubtful to all such our good faithful subjects, as setting blind affection apart, do with reason and wisdom consider the very foundation and ground of our title, with the great commodities thereby coming through God's providence to the preservation of our common weal and poli-

[a] Ellis' *Original Letters Illustrative of English History*, vol. ii. p. 183, from the original among the Muniments at Loseley House.

cy; yet for that we understand the Lady Mary doth not cease by Letters in her name, provoked thereto by her adherents, enemies of this Realm, to publish and notify slanderously to divers of of our subjects matter derogatory to our title and dignity royal, with the slander of certain of our Nobility and Council: We have thought meet to admonish and exhort You, as our true and faithful subjects, to remain fast in your obeisance and duty to the Imperial Crown of this Realm, whereof we have justly the possession; and not to be removed any wise from your duty by slanderous reports or letters, dispersed abroad either by the said Lady Mary, or by her adherents; for truly like as the Nobility of our Realm, our Council, our Prelates, our Judges, and learned men, and others good wise men, godly and natural subjects, do remain fast and surely in their Allegiance towards us, ready to adventure their lives, lands, and goods for our defence, so can a great number of the same Nobility, Counsellors, and Judges, truly testify to all the world, with safety of their conscience, how carefully and earnestly the late King of famous memory, our dear Cousin King Edward the Sixth, from time to time mentioned and provoked them partly by persuasion, partly commandments, to have such respect to his succession, if

God should call him to his mercy without issue, as might be the preservation of the Crown in the whole undefiled English blood; and therefore of his own mere motion, both by grant of his Letters Patents, and by declaration of his will, established the succession as it is declared by our Proclamation. And for the testimony hereof to the satisfaction of such as shall conceive any doubt herein, We understand that certain of our Nobility have written at this present, in some part to admonish you of your duties, and to testify their knowledge of the truth of our title and right. Wherefore we leave to proceed further therein, being assured in the goodness of God, that your hearts shall be confirmed to owe your duty to us your sovereign Lady, who mean to preserve this Crown of England in the royal blood, and out of the [a] of strangers and papists, with the defence of all you our good subjects, your lives, lands, and goods, in our peace against the invasions and violence of all foreign or inward enemies and rebels. Given under our Signet at our Tower of London, the xvj day of July, in the first year of our reign.

"To our trusty and well beloved the Sheriff, Justices of Peace, and

[a] This space is left in the original.

other Gentlemen of our County of Surrey, and to every of them."[a]

"JANE, THE QUEEN.[b]

"Trusty and well beloved we greet you well, because we doubt not but this our most lawful possession of the crown with the free consent of the nobility of our realm, and other the states of the same as both plainly known and accepted of you, as our most loving subjects, therefore we do not reiterate the same, but now most earnestly will and require, and by authority hereof warrant you to assemble, muster, and levy all the power that you can possible make, either of your servants, tenants, officers, or friends, as well horsemen as footmen, repairing to our right trusty and right well beloved cousins, the Earls of Arundel and Pembroke,[c] their tenants, servants, and officers, and with the same to repair with all possible speed

[a] Ibid. p. 186. From the original among the Muniments at Loseley House. Mr. Ellis informs us, that this letter was sealed with the signet of King Edward VI.,—the arms of France and England quarterly, crowned; with the letters E. R. at the sides.

[b] It is from this signature that the fac-simile under the Portrait prefixed to this memoir has been taken.

[c] In the margin of the manuscript whence this letter has been copied, but in a more modern hand, is this note—"Tho' these earls at the time were plotting against her."

towards Buckinghamshire, for the repression and subduing of certain tumults and rebellions moved there against us and our crown by certain seditious men. For the repression whereof we have given orders to divers others our good subjects, and gentlemen of such degree as you are, to repair in like manner to the same parties. So as we nothing doubt but upon the access of such our loving subjects as be appointed for that purpose to the place where this seditious people yet remain, the same shall either lack heart to abide in their malicious purpose or else receive such punishment and execution as they deserve, seeking the destruction of their native country and the subversion of all men in their degrees, by rebellion of the base multitude, whose rage being stirred, as of late years hath been seen, must needs be the confusion of the whole common weal. Wherefore our special trust is in your courage, wisdom, and fidelities in this matter, to advance yourselves both with power and speed to this enterprise, in such sort as by the nobility and council shall be also prescribed unto you. And for the sustentation of your charge in this behalf, our said council, by our said commandment, do further give order to your satisfaction, as by their letters also shall appear unto you. And beside that, we do assure you of our special consideration of this your service to us and our

crown, as expressly to the preservation of this our realm and commonwealth. Given under our signet at the Tower of London, the xviiith day of July, the first year of our reign."

"To our trusty and well beloved
Sir John Bridges and Sir Nicolas Poyntz,
Knights."[a]

The support of the Emperor Charles V. was anxiously courted by the partizans of Lady Jane, and the correspondence between the Council and Sir Philip Hoby and Sir Richard Morrison, the Commissioners from the late King to that monarch, develops so many curious facts that a particular notice of it cannot be deemed uninteresting. Some of these letters are printed in *Lady Jane Grey and her Times*, but a selection taken from one of the Harleian Manuscripts[b] will be sufficient for the purpose of this memoir. The notification of Edward's demise was dated on the 8th of July; in which it is remarkable that no notice whatever is taken of his successor, and the Commissioners are merely directed to acquaint the Emperor with the event, and to add that it was the conviction of the Council, that his Majesty would be willing to preserve the amity which then existed between the two countries. The following was the Commissioners' reply, from which it is mani-

[a] Harl. MSS. 416, f. 30.

[b] No. 523.

fest that extreme caution was used by the Emperor, as to giving any opinion on the important subject which then agitated this country.

"TO THE LORDS OF THE COUNCIL,

"Please it your good Lordships, the xvi of this month, we declared to the Emperor our heavy and sorrowful news, setting forth, after that your Lordship's assured good wills and readiness at all times to observe and maintain the ancient amity which had been always betwixt the realm of England and House of Burgundy, and other the Emperor's dominions, according to your Lordship's pleasures, signified to us in your letters of the ix day of this present month; for answer whereunto the Emperor said that he was right sorry for his part of these heavy news, whereby he perceived the loss of such a brother, and so good a friend both to him and to his countries, and considering that he was of such a great towardness, and of such a hope to do good, and be a stay in Christendom, his loss was so much the greater; and used in this behalf many good words to our late Sovereign Lord's commendation and declarations of his grief for his death: and touching, saith he, the amity which hath been betwixt me and my late good brother, our countries and subjects, as I have always had good will to the observance of the same, according to such treaties as were be-

twixt us, so now understanding by you, my Lords of the Council's good inclinations, and minds to entertain and observe this amity for correspondency, I both now have and shall have like good will to keep and continue the same, and I thank them for making me understand their good will herein; with compliments of many other words to this purpose. So that as far as we can perceive by his words, he mindeth assuredly to keep amity with us, yet to decipher him better herein, it were not amiss in our opinions, when as your Lordship's shall advertise him, either with some new league or to tempt him what he will say to the old; or by some other means, which your wisdoms can better devise, &c. Dated the xvii July, 1553.[a]"

[a] Immediately following the transcript of this letter in Harl. MSS. 523, f. 12, 13, this note occurs: "The King hath written to the regent, signifying unto her, Mr. Chamberlains recommendation, and also requiring her in all his Majesty's affairs to give unto you Mr. H. Hobby, benign audience and full credit." On which Mr. Howard, p. 231, perhaps on the authority of the Harleian Catalogue, vol. i. p. 334, lays considerable stress, as evidence that Lord Guildford Dudley, "in right of his marriage, actually assumed the title of King," but it is most probable that the King there mentioned, was Edward VI., for there is no proof whatever when the letter alluded to was written; and as the copies of the state papers contained in that MS.

A letter written two days previously, from the Commissioners, merits considerable attention, as it affords us evidence that the Emperor's objection to Lady Jane's succession were not in the first instance considered as certain, and that the title of King was attributed to Lord Guildford Dudley by foreigners; a circumstance of less importance, but still of sufficient interest to render it worthy of a remark, is also afforded by this letter, that Don Diego was one of Lord Guildford's sponsors.

either were arranged without the least attention to order, or became so from the negligence of the binder, no conclusion can be drawn from the place where it occurs in the volume; in evidence of which, the letter which immediately follows the one in the text was dated in 1552, that which is the next in point of time is inserted in a mutilated state, in f. 1, whilst the despatch announcing the appointment of the Bishop of Norwich, as Mary's Ambassador to the Emperor, dated 1st August, 1553, is placed at f. 45, and the intermediate pages are occupied not only with the letters just cited, but with others of various dates between 1549 and 1552. Moreover it must be observed, that in the copies of these despatches, in the Cottonian MS. Galba B. xii. the note in question is not to be found. These remarks are only meant to extend to the inference to be deduced from the above-mentioned note, for it will hereafter be seen, that the title of "Majesty" was actually attributed to Lord Guildford Dudley abroad, though there is no circumstance on record to establish that he was so styled in this country.

TO THE COUNCIL.

"Please it your good Lordship's,

"The xiiij of this present, Don Diego found me, Sir Philip Hoby, and me Sir Richard Morrison, walking in our Host's garden, and at his first coming to us, entered into a long talk, how much he was bound to owe his good will and service to England, and therefore he could not but at one time both sorrow with us for the loss of our old master, a Prince of such virtue and towardness, and also rejoice with us, that our master which is departed, did ere he went, provide us of a King, in whom we had so many causes to rejoice in, he made his excuses that he had not[a] come to us the day before, laying the stay thereof in D. Arras; for saith he, when told him I would come to you, and shew me a partaker both of your sorrows and gladness, with mind to make offer to the King's Majesty by you both, of as much service as should lye in me, and of as much as my friends and kinsmen were able to do, in case D. Arras did think such my offer could not offend the Emperor my master, D. Arras' advice was, that I should for a season defer my going unto you, which as I did somewhat against my will, so I am now very glad that I so

[a] This word is erased in the MS. but the sense of the paragraph requires its retention.

did, for he telleth me now I may come to you, and sorrow with you, and make all the offers that I can to the King's Majesty, for I shall not only not offend him in so doing, but I shall much please his Majesty therewith; and therefore saith he, as I am sorry that ye have lost so good a King, so do I much rejoice that ye have so noble and so toward a Prince to succeed him, and I promise you by the word of a gentleman, I will at all times serve his Highness myself, and as many as I shall be able to bring with me, if the Emperor did call me to serve him. We said, we hitherto had received the sorrowful news, but the glad tidings were as yet come unto us by no letters; we were glad to hear thus much, and wished that we were able to tell him all, how things went at home: saith he, I can tell you thus much.—The King's Majesty for discharge of his conscience, wrote a good piece of his Testament with his own hand, barring both his sisters of the Crown, and leaving it to the Lady Jane, niece to the French Queen. Whether the two daughters be base or no, or why it is done, we that be strangers have nothing to do with the matter; you are bound to serve and obey his Majesty, and therefore it is reason we take him for your King, whom the consent of the nobles of your country have allowed for your King. I, saith he, for my part of all

others, am bound to be glad that his Majesty is settled in this office; I was his god-father, and will as willingly spend my blood in his service, as any subject that he hath, as long as I shall see the Emperor my master so willing to embrace his Majesty's amity. Don Francisco de Este, general of all the footmen Italians, is gone to his charge in Milan, who at his departure made the like offer, as long as his master and ours should be friends, which he trusted should be ever, praying us at our return to utter it to the King's Majesty, and thus we humbly take our leaves of your honors, from the Commissioners at Brussels, the xv of July, 1553."

The following passage occurs in the MS. immediately after the preceding letter, but whether it belonged to it or not, can only be conjectured.[a]

"That it hath liked your Grace to promise to consider my suit, I most humbly thank you for hoping your goodness will at convenient leisure take a time to remember the same, and despatch me."

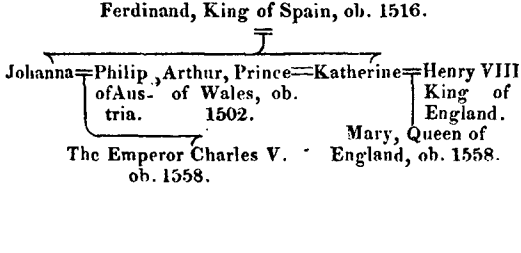
The letter from the new Queen to the Commissioners, dated at the Tower, 12th July, 1553, announcing her succession, was conveyed by Mr. Shelley; and in the same Manuscript from which the other letters were taken, is the copy of

[a] Vide the note to p. lxi.

a very important dispatch, from the Commissioners to the Council, announcing that the Emperor had ordered them to attend him without delay, and that whilst they were preparing to obey the summons, Mr. Shelley had arrived; but before they could possibly open his dispatches, a second messenger reached them, commanding them instantly to attend his Majesty, so that the audience of which it was the object of that dispatch to give the particulars, occurred before they were officially informed of Lady Jane's having assumed the royal dignity. In that interview the Emperor gave them plainly to understand, first, that he was far from pleased that Edward had declared his sister to be illegitimate, and limited the succession in a different manner than his father had done: secondly, he complained that his Ambassadors in England could not obtain an audience since the death of the late King: thirdly, he observed, that the Dauphin might have pretensions to the English Crown in right of his wife, the Queen of Scotland, who was the descendant of the eldest, whilst Lady Jane was the representative of the youngest sister: fourthly, he wished the differences between Lady Jane and Lady Mary should be determined by Parliament, without force or violence, and that Lady Mary should be married to some nobleman of England, so that the realm

might remain in the same state, both in Policy and Religion; fifthly, he expressed his dislike at Mr. Dudley's being sent into France; and, lastly, he declined giving an audience to Mr. Shelley, until he knew from whom he came. To this communication Hoby and Morrison merely replied, that they had had no regular intimation of the proceedings in England, but that Mr. Shelley had just reached Brussels with important letters, which they had not had time to examine; and they promised to acquaint his Majesty the next day with their contents: but Charles being well informed of the state of affairs in England, an excuse was made to receiving them; and it was clearly intimated, that no one could be admitted from England in any other character than as Mary's accredited agent.[a]

[a] The Emperor's dislike to the innovation in the order of the succession may not only be rationally accounted for on political grounds, but the near consanguinity between Mary and himself, as is shewn below, was a sufficient motive to render him hostile to every attempt against her interests. Mary married in the following year Philip, King of Spain, the Emperor's son.


Ferdinand, King of Spain, ob. 1516.
Johanna
Philip of Austria.
Arthur, Prince of Wales, ob. 1502.
Katherine
Henry VIII. King of England.
The Emperor Charles V. ob. 1558.
Mary, Queen of England, ob. 1558.

The rapid success which attended Mary's efforts to dispossess her rival of the power which she had usurped, rendered Lady Jane's affairs extremely critical; and even the veil of ambition, which had hitherto blinded Northumberland, was at last removed by a conviction of his dangerous situation He had levied forces which were assembled in London, but suspicion of his colleagues had with much justice taken possession of his mind, and dreading the effect of his absence from the metropolis, he resolved to remain near the person of Lady Jane, and persuaded the Duke of Suffolk to take the command of the army: the filial tenderness of the young Queen, however, worked upon by those who wished to remove him, magnified the danger to which her father would be exposed, and her remonstrance, added to the Duke's acquaintance with Suffolk's want of capacity, induced him to undertake the direction of the troops in person. Previous to his departure, he represented to the Council that he was fully sensible of the double danger which he incurred in this enterprise, both with respect to Mary and to themselves; for if they in his absence should waver in their present sentiments, they might secure their own safety by his destruction, and "make themselves seem innocent in his guiltiness." To these shrewd observations one of the Lords replied, "your Grace

makes a doubt of that which cannot be, for which of us all can wash his hands clean of this business? and therefore it behoves us to be as resolute as yourself." The Earl of Arundel, his brother-in-law, to testify his resolution, remarked: "he was sorry it was not his chance to go with him, at whose feet he could find in his heart to spend his best blood." On the 14th of July, Northumberland, accompanied by the Marquess of Northampton, Lord Grey, and several other persons of rank proceeded to meet Mary's forces: their troops consisted of about eight thousand foot, and two thousand horse, but so manifest was the fact, that their cause was unpopular, that Northumberland, when passing Shoreditch, observed, "see how the people press to see us, but not one of them saith, 'God speed you.'"[a] No sooner had he reached St. Edmond's Bury, than he found his army too weak to cope with Mary's forces, which amounted to at least double the number: he therefore wrote urgently to the Council, desiring reinforcements, and they gladly availed themselves of the pretext which the appearance of executing his demands afforded them of quitting the Tower; but it was their first thought to concert measures for their own safety, or, as Hume expresses it, "to shake off his usurped tyranny." Arundel took the lead

a Baker's *Chronicle*, sub anno 1553, p. 313.

in throwing away the cloak which had covered his real sentiments; and at a meeting which had been previously appointed to take place at Baynard's Castle, this nobleman, who with the most contemptible hypocrisy had a few days before boasted of his readiness to spill his heart's blood in Lady Jane's cause, now represented Northumberland's cruelty and injustice, the inordinacy of his ambition, his criminal designs, and the guilt in which he had involved the whole Council; and he concluded his address by pointing out, that the only means which then existed of atoning for their crime, was by an immediate return to the duty which they owed to their lawful sovereign. Pembroke with ardour seconded the motion, laid his hand on his sword, and vowed he was ready to fight any man who expressed a contrary sentiment. The Mayor and Aldermen of London were sent for, and Mary was proclaimed with a zeal and affection, that formed a striking contrast to the manner in which the unhappy Jane had been announced a few weeks preceding.[a] This important change was effected about the 19th of July, at which time neither ambition nor hope could conceal the desperate state of Lady Jane's situation: Northumberland, however, awere that his fortunes and his life were at

[a] Hume; corroborated by extracts from several contemporary letters.

stake, advanced from Cambridge to Bury, where finding himself deserted, his cause totally hopeless, and the general feeling unequivocally expressed in Mary's favour, he at length suffered his reason to overcome his wishes, and with a meanness no less disgraceful than unavailing, he himself proclaimed Mary, Queen of England. Lloyd quaintly remarks, that the spectators of his conduct on the occasion, "more believing the grief in his eyes when they let down tears, than the joy professed by his hands when he threw up his cap;" and to the same writer we are indebted for information of a fact still more humiliating, for he states, that when the Duke was arrested by the Earl of Arundel, he fell at his feet and "craved mercy." Of this nobleman little remains to be said: he was speedily committed to the Tower, and soon afterwards brought to trial; and as his treason was displayed in too multiplied a manner to admit of a question, the only part of the proceedings worthy of notice is, that when he implored the mercy of the Court for his children, he assured them that Lady Jane herself was so far from aspiring to the Crown, "that she was by enticement and force made to accept it:" on the 22nd of August following, in pursuance of his sentence, he was executed on Tower-hill, with Sir John Gates, and Sir Thomas Palmer.

At this crisis in Lady Jane Grey's life, she becomes an object of the deepest interest; and she has been described to have made misery itself amiable by her patient and pious behaviour.[a] The first person who acquainted her with the events which had taken place, is said to have been her father, the Duke of Suffolk; who, entering her chamber, told her she must now divest herself of the royal robes, and be contented to return to a private station: it is stated that she received the information with apparent joy, and assured him she would put them off with infinitely more pleasure than she felt when she assumed them, and which she never would have done, but in obedience to the commands of her mother and himself.[b]

Immediately after Mary became firmly seated on the throne, Lady Jane and her husband, as well as the Duke and Duchess of Suffolk, were confined as state prisoners in the Tower; and the following anecdote proves the rapidity with which the alteration in her situation was effected. A Mr. Edward Underhill, who had been admitted into the Band of Gentlemen Pensioners by Edward VI. was at that time about the person of Jane: in his youth he had been a man of pleasure, but being converted to the Reformed Religion, he be-

[a] Fuller. [b] Baker.

came so zealous a protestant that his comrades designated him the "Hot-Gospeller;" from these circumstances he became a favorite at the new Court, and was on duty at the Tower when his wife was confined with a son. The baptism of the infant was fixed for the 19th of July, and the Duke of Suffolk and the Earl of Pembroke had consented to stand as sponsors by proxy, and the Lady Jane not only signified her intention of being godmother, but as a still higher mark of favour, desired that the child should be called Guildford, after her husband. The baptism as appointed took place, and Lady Throckmorton wife to Sir Nicholas, was deputed to act as the royal proxy. On leaving the Tower that evening, Lady Throckmorton received the usual commands from Lady Jane herself, according to established etiquette, and conveyed them to the assembly she had just quitted; after the ceremony she returned to the Tower, but her surprise may be imagined on entering the royal apartment to find the canopy of state removed, together with all the other ensigns of royalty: she was, however, soon informed by one of the new officers of the charge which had taken place since her departure in the afternoon; and also that her Lady was a prisoner for high treason, and that she must attend her, but under the weight of a similar charge.[a]"

[a] *Biographia Britannica.*

The command issued by Mary relative to her prisoners, which probably caused them the greatest anguish, was that Lady Jane and her husband should be rigorously confined in distinct apartments, by which she prevented that alleviation of their misfortunes, which mutual endearments seldom fail to supply.

Suffolk, though at first arrested, appears to have obtained his liberty about the 31st of July, but with an engagement to surrender himself if he was required to do so. Immediately after Lady Jane became a prisoner, she was called upon to deliver to the Marquess of Winchester all the Crown Jewels; and it has been conjectured, that under that pretence both she and her husband were divested of every shilling they possessed.[a] On the 3rd of October, the ceremony of Mary's coronation took place, soon after which, measures were adopted for the arraignment of Lady Jane and Lord Guildford Dudley, together with his brothers Lord Ambrose, and Lord Henry Dudley; and on the 13th of November, their trial commenced, Lady Jane and her husband having on that morning been escorted from the Tower to the place appointed for the purpose. Fully sensible of the uselessness of a defence, they pleaded guilty, and after sentence of death was pronounced on each of them, the unfortunate Lady Jane and her

[a] *Lady Jane Grey and her Times.*

husband were conducted back to their solitary abode in the Tower. On this appalling occasion, she is said to have evinced the most perfect coolness and intrepidity, and even to have offered to her companions in misfortune, that consolation, of which, from her youth and sex she might naturally be supposed to have stood in need. During their return, the public sympathy was loudly expressed; and the uniform testimony of historians assures us, that but for the subsequent attempt of her father, their youth and innocence would have moved even the unfeminine heart of Mary, to have preserved their lives.

It was not until the day of their trial, that Lady Jane and her husband had been allowed to see each other since the sad change in their fortunes, but on their return to the Tower, they were again separated. At this period Mary, perhaps disposed to affect a clemency foreign to her nature, and desirous of commencing her reign with an act of popularity, pardoned the Marquess of Northampton and Sir Henry Gates; and ordered the restraint, to which the two illustrious personages had been subjected, to be considerably relaxed. Lord Guildford and his brother, Lord Ambrose Dudley, were permitted to walk on the leads of the Tower, whilst to Lady Jane was conceded the indulgence of taking exercise in the Queen Gar-

den, with other slight favours, which though perhaps otherwise unimportant, were hailed by their friends as the harbingers of a speedy and permanent release. During her confinement, Fox and other writers have positively asserted that the Queen made frequent efforts to convert her to the Catholic Faith, and they have even gone so far as to state, that the most solemn promises of life and fortune were made, if she would yield to their solicitations. Of the truth of these statements, which are extremely probable, we have now no means of deciding, but to her eternal honor, and doubtless to her immortal advantage, the sin of apostacy was not her's. No temporal advantage could persuade her too well regulated mind to forsake its God; and if the allurements alluded to were really held out, few have higher pretensions to be ranked among the martyrs to their faith. All Lady Jane's biographers have asserted, that her letter to a noble friend newly fallen from the truth,[a] was addressed to Dr. Harding, who had been her father's chaplain, but became a convert to the doctrines of the Catholic church; and they expressly inform us, that it was written after her condemnation: part of this statement is however decidedly erroneous, for the epistle in question was signed with her maiden name; and as Harding did not declare the change in

[a] This letter will be found in a subsequent page.

his sentiments until after Mary's accession, the same fact proves that it could not have been addressed to him, unless, as is not improbable, Lady Jane was acquainted with the alteration in his opinions some time before he publicly avowed it. The authenticity of that letter has however been the subject of discussion, and the question is too important to be allowed to pass unnoticed: that it was received as the genuine production of Lady Jane Grey, both by Fox and Burnet is certain, but some modern writers have objected to the probability of its having been written by her, on account of the intemperate, and indeed vulgar epithets which it contains. It is true that the coarseness of its language is not consonant to the gentleness and delicacy which we attribute to her disposition, but we should ask ourselves whether in estimating the character of this interesting woman, we do not forget the period in which she lived, and in the ardour of our admiration, invest her with a refinement of ideas totally incompatible with the manners of the times: on the subject of religion, less elegance of expression is to be expected, than on any other, for in all ages the use of scriptural terms has been tolerated; and revolting as many of the epithets certainly are, they were the common weapons of the reformers of the day, and nearly the whole of the strong terms used in her letter

are taken from the sacred writings. Religion, in the middle of the sixteenth century, was far from a subject which could be discussed with coolness; and from her peculiar attachment to her faith, she viewed apostacy with horror, and in the effort to reclaim the person she addressed, naturally used expressions contained in the works she had studied, from their peculiar fitness to describe the enormity of the crime which he had committed. We may therefore, without difficulty, imagine her to have written the objectionable passages which has produced a doubt on the authenticity of that celebrated epistle, without its lessening our esteem for its author.

The warmth with which Mary's pretensions had been received by the nation abated, when her attachment to popery became so decided, and her projected marriage with Philip of Spain excited great alarm: no sooner was it celebrated, than a new insurrection was formed, and of which the ill-fated Lady Jane, ever a sufferer by the folly or the crimes of others, was destined to be the victim. The discontent of the protestant part of the community, prompted Sir Thomas Wyatt to attempt to raise the county of Kent, and Sir Peter Carew that of Devon. The Duke of Suffolk, whose unaccountable weakness, neither danger nor experience could correct, seduced by the pros-

pect of once more seeing their imperial diadem on his daughter's brow, joined the conspirators, and undertook to raise the midland counties. Carew's impatience frustrated the little hope of success which existed; his forces were speedily suppressed by the Earl of Bedford, and he himself obliged to fly into France. The moment Suffolk was apprized of this circumstance, the fear of an arrest obliged him to leave London, and he was accompanied in his flight by his brothers, Lord Leonard and Lord Thomas Grey. His immediate object was to raise the counties of Warwick and Leicester, where his influence lay, but he was so closely pursued by the Earl of Huntingdon, that he was obliged to disperse his followers; and being discovered in his concealment, in the park of his mansion of Astley, in Leicestershire, was brought a prisoner to the metropolis. Wyatt's attempt was at first more successful, but his forces were at length routed, and their leader taken prisoner.

No sooner was this rebellion crushed, than it was resolved to carry the sentence which had been passed on Lady Jane Grey into execution, on which Baker quaintly observes, "then was verified the fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge; the innocent Lady must suffer for her father's fault, for if her father the Duke of Suffolk had not this second time made shipwreck of his

loyalty, his daughter perhaps had never tasted the salt waters of the Queen's displeasure, but now as a rock of offence, she is the first that must be removed;" and on the 8th of February, Feckenham, the Queen's confessor, was sent to announce to her the awful tidings, that she must prepare herself to die on the ensuing day. She received the intimation with resignation, and told Feckenham that she had long expected it; he then used every argument of which he was master, to persuade her to change her religion, and construing her reply that she had now no time to think of any thing, but to prepare herself to meet her God by prayer, into a request that her execution might be delayed, applied to the Queen who granted her a reprieve of three days. The desire of making her a convert to the church of Rome, was in all probability the sole motive of this indulgence, which Feckenham instantly announced to her; but to his surprize she mildly observed, "you are much deceived if you think I have any desire of longer life, for I assure you, since the time you went from me, my life hath been so tedious to me, that I long for nothing so much as death, and since it is the Queen's pleasure, I am most willing to undergo it; neither did I wish the Queen to be solicited for such a purpose." Her sentiments having been communicated to Mary, she became

inflamed in an increased degree with the wish to induce Lady Jane to renounce her religion, and under colour of the most tender concern for her eternal welfare, persecuted her with the visits of priests, who disturbed her devotions, and harassed her with constant disputations: so far indeed was the attempt carried, that the offer of a further reprieve was made in order that she might in the time thus afforded, pay what they termed a proper regard to the welfare of her soul. In this trying scene, however, she remained inflexible, and displayed a fortitude never surpassed: conscious of the stability of her faith, she is said to have consented to admit the conference proposed by Feckenham, for the discussion of the subject; but that when the time arrived, she was anxious to avoid the controversy, observing, that she had no time to spare; that disputation might be fit for the living, but not for the dying, and that therefore the surest sign of his having that compassion for her of which he made such strong professions, would be to leave her undisturbed in making her peace with God; but, actuated by the wish to display his powers both before the clergy, by whom he was accompanied, and the individuals who had been purposely admitted, he refused to comply with her request. How far this account may be received as correct is doubtful, for in the intro-

duction to this "Conference," printed in a scarce tract,[a] the following statement is prefixed, and which may be considered as the most probable cause of the dialogue having been preserved.

"Divers learned Romish Catholics, and even those which were of the best fame and reputation, were sent unto her to dissuade her from that true profession of the Gospel, which from her cradle she had ever held; each striving by art, by flattery, by threatenings, by promise of life, or what else might move most in the bosom of a weak woman, who should become master of so great and worthy a prize; but all their labours were bootless, for she had art to confound their art, wisdom to withstand their wisdom, resolution above their menaces, and such a true knowledge of life, that death was to her no other than a most familiar acquaintance; in the end, a deep read divine called M. Feckenham, then Chaplain to Queen Mary, was sent unto her about some four days before her death, who had with her a long and tedious disputation, but, as the rest, found himself in all holy gifts so short of her excellence, that he acknowledged himself fitter to be her disciple than teacher, and thereupon humbly besought her to

[a] *The Life, Death, and Actions of the Most Chaste, Learned, and Religious Lady, the Lady Jane Grey, &c.* London, 1615.

deliver unto him some brief sum of her faith, which he might hereafter keep, and as a faithful witness publish to the world; to which she willingly condescended, and bad him boldly question her in what points of religion so ever it pleased him, and she would give her faithful and believing answer, such as she would ever be ready to seal with her dearest blood."

This account differs very materially from that of an anonymous writer,[a] as well as from the statement which follows the above, in the same pamphlet, where it is said that the argument took place publicly, before an assemblage of the noble and learned, when Feckenham, by his coarseness and brutality, lost the respect of his auditors; but this appears highly improbable, from the internal evidence afforded by the dialogue itself, and by the consideration that it is evidently what it is described to be in the preceding extract, "a brief sum of her faith which he might hereafter keep;" and its being in a catechetical form is well explained, by her having requested him "boldly to question her in what points of religion so ever it pleased him." Moreover it would be difficult to reconcile its having been signed by herself on any other grounds; for if her sentiments had been merely verbally expressed, as must be inferred

[a] Reprinted in "*The Phœnix*," No. xviii. Vol. II. p. 27.

from the narrative given by the writers just cited, its having ever existed as a document attested by her own signature, cannot well be explained.

In estimating the conduct of Feckenham, we must remember that the unfavourable descriptions of his conduct towards Lady Jane Grey are handed down to us from most prejudiced sources; a martyrologist is never an impartial biographer of a priest of the religion which produced the immolation of those whose virtues he records; and judging of Mary's chaplain by perhaps the only positive evidence which exists—the interesting dialogue before us—the conclusion which it allows is, by no means what his enemies have represented.[a]

[a] It has been said, that "when he called to take his last leave of Lady Jane, he could not refrain from the cruel taunt of 'Madam, I am sorry for you and your obstinacy, and now I am assured that you and I shall never meet again:' and that she replied, 'it is most true, Sir, we shall never meet again, except God turn your heart; for I stand undoubtedly assured, that unless you repent and turn to God, you are in a sad and desperate case, and I pray to God to send you his holy spirit, for he hath given you his great gift of utterance, if it please him to open the eyes of your heart to his truth.' Feckenham, more enraged at this, turned rudely upon his heel, and left her without obeisance, whilst she, like a suffering saint, withdrew herself into her bed-chamber to meditation and prayer." Whatever bigotry is to be found in the observation imputed to Feckenham, it

The respite offered by the Queen was, notwithstanding its refusal by Lady Jane, confirmed by the Council, and she consequently lived to be aware that her father was brought to the same prison, for the purpose of undergoing a similar fate. That she was not acquainted with his previous arrest, is infefred from her having written her celebrated letter to him, which is inserted among her other works towards the end of the volume.

It was on Saturday the 10th of February, 1554, that the Duke of Suffolk, together with Lord John Grey his brother, were conveyed to the Tower; and the Monday following was appointed for the execution of Lady Jane and her husband Lord Guildford Dudley. The last evening of her life was employed by her in religious duties: having taken up a Greek Testament, and attentively perused it for some time, she discovered a few pages of clean paper at the end of the volume, "which, as it were awakening and inciting her zeal to some good and charitable office, she took her pen, and in those waste leaves wrote a most godly and learned exhortation" to

must be confessed that there is not a little acrimony in the retort: but every thing which flows from a spring so poisoned by prejudice as the pen of the author of a martyrology, must, as is observed in the text, be received with great hesitation.

her sister Katherine. Such is the motive to which the letter to her sister, which is reprinted in this volume, has been attributed; but affection and a natural desire that the important subject, then uppermost in her thoughts, should also employ the attention of a beloved relative, more rationally explains the inducement which prompted her to leave so solemn a memorial of her regard. This letter is of the highest interest, and displays the perfect self-possession of its lovely writer in the most satisfactory light: it likewise affords a lesson no less impressive than essential, for it teaches us the powerful solace which religion bestowed in so momentous an hour. In the narrative which follows this letter in the pamphlet before cited, it is asserted that she was destined, even on the last evening of her exisience, to be harassed by new persecutions from the Catholic divines; for no sooner had she finished her letter than two bishops, with some other priests entered her chamber, and employed more than two hours in the effort to convert her; but her strength of mind remained unimpaired, and we are thus presented with a splendid example of female constancy and firmness in a girl, who had not then attained her seventeenth year. Her tormenters, worn out by a resolution which no arguments could shake, left her as they styled it, in her obstinacy; though it

is said that she was not permitted to pass the brief space of her existence which remained, without experiencing similar attempts. It was also on this evening that she finished and corrected the prayer, which is likewise inserted in this volume.

The fatal morning at length arrived: it was originally intended that Lady Jane and Lord Guildford should suffer together on Tower Hill, but the Council dreading the effect of their youth and innocence on the populace, changed their orders; and it was therefore determined that Lord Guildford only should be executed on that spot, and that Lady Jane's death should take place within the verge of the Tower. Guildford, on the morning of his execution, urgently requested to be allowed to bid a last adieu to the cherished partner of his heart, and although his wishes were not refused by the Queen, the gratification of them was denied him by Lady Jane: her strong judgment at once dreaded the effects of an interview, that was likely to overwhelm them with unavailing sorrow, and thus to destroy that firmness which was so necessary to enable them to bear the trying scene with composure: she reminded him that their separation would be but for a moment, and that they would soon rejoin each other, where their affections would be united for ever, and where neither misfortunes, disappointments, nor death could

reach them, but where their felicity would be eternal! Lord Guildford was first led to his fate, and when passing under the window of his wife, obtained one last token of her love and remembrance. What tale of sorrow it may be asked, has ever equalled this heart rending scene? But her cup of bitterness was not yet full, for besides her own bodily sufferings, she experienced the agony of seeing the headless corpse of her husband conveyed from the place of his execution. The manner in which this appalling sight met her view has been differently stated; in the narrative inserted in the tract before noticed,[a] it is said that she encountered it on her way to the scaffold; whilst Mr. Howard, her latest biographer, follows those writers who assert that when sitting in her apartment awaiting the awful summons, she heard the cart pass under her window, and rose notwithstanding the efforts of her attendants to restrain her. This account is not so probable as the other, for she would scarcely have sought so dreadful a spectacle; and as she had carefully avoided an interview with him, lest their firmness might have been destroyed, it cannot be believed that she would willingly view an object still more calculated

[a] *Life, Death, and Actions of the Most Chaste, Learned, and Religious Lady, the Lady Jane Grey.*

to disturb her thoughts.[a] Dudley we are told exhibited considerable dignity and fortitude; after some time spent in prayer, he addressed the assembled multitude, merely to request them to pray for him, and placing his head on the block, it was in a few seconds separated from his body.

So soon as the closing scene of Lord Guildford's life was over, the Sheriffs announced to Lady Jane that they were ready to attend her to the scaffold: nor did this awful summons shake the fortitude which she had displayed throughout her imprisonment. The pamphlet which has been frequently cited,[b] describes her conduct on the occasion in the following words: "and being come down and delivered into the hands of the Sheriffs, they might behold in her countenance so gravely settled with all modest and comely resolution,

[a] Grafton corroborates the statement that Lady Jane's meeting the mutilated body of her husband was entirely accidental, for he says, Lord Guildford Dudley's "dead carkas liyng in a Carre in strawe was againe brought into the Tower, at the same instant that the Ladie Iane his wife went to her death within the Tower, which miserable sight was to her a double sorrow and griefe."

Grafton it must be remembered was contemporary with the event here described.

[b] *Life, Death, and Actions of the most Chaste, Learned, and Religious Lady, the Lady Jane Grey*, and which appears to have been copied in the *Phœnix*, No. xviii.

that not the least hair or mote either of fear or grief could be perceived to proceed either out of her speech or motions, but like a demure body going to be united to her heart's best and longest beloved; so shewed she forth all the beams of a well mixt and temporal alacrity, rather instructing patience how it should suffer, than being by patience any way able to endure the travel of so grievous a journey: with this blessed and modest boldness of spirit, undaunted and unaltered she went towards the scaffold." She was conducted to the place of execution by Sir John Brydges, the Lieutenant of the Tower, and was entirely occupied in the perusal of a book of prayers, though Fox asserts, that her devotions were continually interrupted by Feckenham. On reaching the scaffold, she mounted it without hesitation, and addressed the assembled crowd in a short speech, in which she admitted her crime against the Queen, but protested that she was innocent either of wishing or procuring the royal dignity: and after requesting those who heard her to bear witness that she died a true Christian woman, and that she expected salvation only through the mercy of God, in the merits of the blood of his son Jesus Christ, she confessed that when she did know the word of God, she neglected it, and loved herself, and that therefore the punishment

had happily and worthily happened to her for her sins; she thanked God for his goodness for giving her time to repent, and concluded her speech by requesting them to assist her with their prayers.[a] She then knelt down, and addressing Feckenham, asked if she should say the Psalm of *Misereri Mei Deus*, to which he assented, and she repeated it in English, in the most devout manner. When it was concluded, she arose and began to prepare herself for her fate, by giving Mrs. Tylney, one of her maids, her gloves and handkerchief, and her book to Mr. Thomas Brydges, the Lieutenant's brother; and proceeding to untie her gown, the executioner offered to assist her, but she requested him to let her alone; and turning towards her gentlewomen, who helped her in taking it off, together with her "Frose paste,[a] and neckecher," they gave her a handkerchief to tie round her eyes. The

a A copy of the speech will be found in p. 51.

b Though very considerable pains have been taken to ascertain the precise meaning of the article so described, they were without success. It was evidently something worn near the neck, and was possibly from its name of German origin. Various and ingenious as the conjectures are with which the author has been favoured on the subject, he is rather inclined to coincide with that of a literary friend, that it was a species of tucker which covered the neck; and that it was probably called, "Fronts-piece."

executioner now fell on his knees and begged her forgiveness, which she most willingly granted him; and he requested her to stand upon the straw, on approaching which the block met her view, but the sight of it did not in the least affect her resolution, and she merely requested him to dispatch her quickly. She then, again knelt and asked, "will you take it off before I lay me down," and being answered in the negative, she tied the handkerchief before her eyes, and felt for the block, observing, "what shall I do? where is it?" One of the by-standers immediately guided her, when she laid her head on it, and stretching forth her body, exclaimed, "Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit,"—immediately the axe fell;—and the world, closed for ever on one of the most interesting women that ever adorned it![a]

It is a singular fact, that numerous as the biographers of Lady Jane Grey have been, not

a The account of the execution of Lady Jane Grey, is chiefly taken from a reprint in the Archæologia, Vol. xiii. p. 406, from "an exceedingly rare, if not unique printed tract, not noticed either by Ames or Herbert, one part of which is entitled 'The ende of the Lady Jane upon the Scaffolde,' it is without date, but contains internal evidence of having been printed immediately after that event, in the first year of the reign of Queen Mary." It differs in a very slight degree from the narrative of Fox.

one of them has alluded to the interment of her body; and it is equally extraordinary that no monument of so celebrated a character, or of her husband should exist. The presumption is, that they were both buried in the chapel of the Tower, but the historian of that fortress[a] has not been able to find any conclusive evidence of the place where their remains were deposited. Thus, whilst tombs have been erected, not only by the hands of private friendship, but from public esteem, and even by royal command, to perpetuate the names of individuals of much less importance, as well as of inferior moral worth, the ashes of two illustrious victims to state policy, in one of whom to royal birth, was united every virtue which renders the female sex estimable, have been allowed to moulder in obscurity! That in the present age, when the spirit of inquiry has produced the exhumation of several of the celebrated dead, some pains should not have been taken to ascertain where the bodies of Lady Jane Grey and her husband were interred, not from mere motives of curiosity, but from the better feeling of removing their remains to the tombs of their ancestors, and of erecting a monument to their memory, cannot but be a subject of surprize.

[a] John Bayley, Esq. F.R.S. F.S.A.

Mr. Howard,[a] and almost every other biographer of Lady Jane, has stated that when she descended from her room to go to the scaffold, she presented Sir John Gage, the Lieutenant of the Tower, in compliance with his request that she would bestow on him some small present which he might keep as a memorial of her, with her table book, in which she had just written three sentences on seeing her husband's dead body. One of these sentences we are informed, was in Greek, one in Latin, and the third in English; and the purport of them was, that human justice was against his body, but the divine mercy would be favourable to his soul; that if her own fault deserved punishment, yet her youth at least, and her imprudence, were worthy of excuse, and that God and posterity she trusted, would shew her favor. The whole of this story, however, is not only improbable, but it is not supported by a shadow of evidence; and still more, many circumstances tend to convince us of its entire fallacy.

If she really wrote the sentences in question, the assertion that she saw the body of her husband from her chamber window, instead of her having accidentally met it on her way to the scaffold, is confirmed; and as very much depends whether such was the fact, it is important to inquire into

[a] *Lady Jane Grey and Her Times*, p. 379.

the truth of it. It has been before observed, that independently of the improbability of her seeking an object so calculated to excite her feelings, Grafton, who was nearly contemporary with the event, informs us that the body of Lord Guildford Dudley lying in a car in straw, was brought into the Tower "at the same instant in which Lady Jane went to her death, within the Tower;" this statement is likewise followed in the tract reprinted in the Phœnix, as well as in the pamphlet which has been so often cited.

Hence, the most probable account is consonant to the representations of more than one writer; and it may with confidence be asked, whether it can for a moment be believed that a young and amiable girl, who on numerous occasions evinced that she was endowed with even more than her sex's usual delicacy and softness, would at any moment have written epigrams on the mutilated corpse of her husband, especially whether she would have done so within a few seconds after she had seen so ghastly a spectacle, and when even she herself was expecting a momentary summons to undergo a similar fate? That she possessed an extraordinary firmness of character is certain; but the female who could have done what has been held up to the world as a subject of admiration, must have been little less than a monster; and instead of the esteem, would most

justly have deserved the execration of posterity. But it is certain, not only from the testimony of the writers alluded to, but from other circumstances, that she was incapable of such horrible conduct; and so far from writing epigrams on her ill-fated husband, we are told, what nature and a knowledge of the female heart at once suggest must have been the case, that when she beheld Lord Guildford's corpse, "so miserable a sight was to her a double sorrow and grief;"[a] and according to another writer, "the spectacle a little startled her, and many tears were seen to descend and fall upon her cheeks."[b] Of the lives which have been written of Lady Jane Grey, perhaps the one most deserving of credit is that by Florio, and though he states that in compliance with the wish of the governor of the Tower, she wrote passages somewhat similar to those attributed to her on her husband, yet he informs us that they were on *herself;* his account is,

"Jvanzi ch'ella (cioe Giovanna Graia) fusse condotta alla preparata manara, fu ricercata dal governatore di Torre, a lasciar li alcuna memoria di lei, a cio stringendolo la molta affettione, che le portava, et essa fattosi dare un picol libretto, vi scrisse sopra tre sentenze: una Greca, una Latina,

[a] Grafton before quoted, p. lxxxix.

[b] Phœnix, No. 42.

et una Inglese, lequali erano in questa sostanza. La Greca era tale: la morte dara la pena al mio corpo del fallo, ma la mia anima giustificare inanzi al conspetto di Dio la innocenza mia. La Latina diceva: Se la giustitia ha luogo nel mio corpo, lanima mia l'havera nella misericordia di Dio. L Inglese: il fallo è degno di morte, ma il modo di mia ignoranza doveva meritar pietà, et escusatione appresso il mondo, et alle leggi.[a] Florio's relation was apparently copied by an English writer of the last century, who observes, "As she was brought out, the Lieutenant of the Tower desired her to favour him with some commemorative memorial, upon which she asked for her table book and wrote three short sentences, in Greek, Latin, and English, by which she asserted her innocency, declaring that if her fault deserved punishment, her youth at least and her ignorance were excuseable, and that God and posterity would shew her favour."[b]

Notwithstanding the repeated assertion, that sentences or epigrams, either on her husband or herself, were written by Lady Jane, it appears

[a] Historia de la Vita e de la Morte de l'Illustriss. Signora Giovanna Graia, &c. de l'Authore M. Michelangelo Florio. 1607. pp. 134-135.

[b] *The Life, Character, and Death of the Most Illustrious Pattern of Female Virtue, the Lady Jane Grey.* 1714. 8vo.

to be at least questionable, whether such was actually the case. It has, it is presumed, been proved that they were never composed upon her husband; and though it is not in the least improbable that she should have expressed such sentiments about herself, or indeed relative to him, at any other period, it is totally repugnant to the feelings with which we may suppose her to have been possessed when proceeding to her execution, that if solicited at so awful a moment for some memorial to keep for her sake, instead of hastily bestowing on the supplicant some trifling article which she had about her person, she should have calmly called for her memorandum book, pen and ink, with the object of displaying her literary attainments. If the sentences were written, it is singular that copies of them should not be extant, even if the original book in which they are said to have been inserted has been lost; nothing, however, but an account of the subject of each of them has been preserved; and this fact, together with the following circumstances, as well as those which have just been stated, confirm the suspicion that the epigrams in question never existed. From the narrative of each of the writers who have been alluded to, it would appear that two books were given by Lady Jane Grey; that in these she wrote three sentences at the request, in

both instances, of the Lieutenant of the Tower, who in some places is called Sir John Brydges, and in others Sir John Gage: and that one of these books was a table book, and the other a prayer book. The only positive proof on this point which can now be adduced, is with respect to the latter, because it is at this moment in the British Museum, and in which, a sentence in the autograph of Lady Jane expressly professes to have been written at the request of the Lieutenant of the Tower, who at that time was Sir John Brydges, whilst Sir John Gage was the constable of that fortress; and in all probability it was this book which she gave on the scaffold to Mr. Thomas Brydges, the Lieutenant's brother. Few families have had such accomplished biographers as those of Brydges[a] and Gage,[b] but no information on the subject is given by either of them, nor is the existence of such "table book" to be traced. In what manner the book given to Sir John Brydges came into the Harleian collection

[a] Sir Egerton Brydges, Bart. K. J.; the numerous literary productions of this elegant writer are too well known, and too highly appreciated, to require any comment.

[b] John Gage, Esq. of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister at Law, F.R.S. F.S.A. whose "History and Antiquities of Hengrave, in Suffolk," 4to. 1822, is, beyond all comparison, the most interesting family history that has ever issued from the press.

does not appear, but from the similarity of the causes which are said to have been Lady Jane's motive for writing those sentences; the constant confusion of writers relative to Sir John Brydges and Sir John Gage, which seems to have arisen from its having been always intended to describe the Lieutenant, instead of the Constable of the Tower; the positive proof of the correctness of one account, and the absence of every kind of evidence, of the truth of the other, combine to persuade us that only one book, namely, that which is now in the British Museum, was ever written in by Lady Jane Grey at the request of a third person, in the manner which has been related.

This long digression will not, it is hoped, be deemed unnecessary: to the admirers of this distinguished woman, every action of her life, and especially every occurrence in the last hour of her existence is of the deepest interest; whilst to those who employ their own minds in the discrimination of character, it was important, that what cannot but have appeared an anomaly in her conduct, should be investigated; and if what has been said tends to create a suspicion of the truth of the unfeminine action imputed to her, even if it does not prove that it never took place, it will not have been written in vain. The inquiry was also called for, because it relates to the authenticity of certain

articles which have been attributed to her pen; and although that subject has been noticed in the preface, still the question of the genuineness of these epigrams is too much connected with other circumstances to have been there discussed with advantage.

Fuller asserts, that it was reported at the time of Lady Jane's death, that she was in the most interesting situation in which a married woman can be placed; and observes, "cruelty to cut down the tree with blossoms on it; and that which hath saved the lives of many women, hastened her death;" but, he adds, "God only knows the truth thereof." The same circumstance is noticed by Sir Thomas Chaloner in his well known elegy; but the point has never been determined, and as is well observed in the *Biographia Britannica*, "whereas some of our own writers seem to doubt whether Lady Jane was with child or not at the time of her decease, and foreigners have improved this into a direct assertion that she was five months gone; it seems to be improbable, since there were at that time so many busy and inquisitive people, that if the fact had been true, it must have been known, and would have been perpetually repeated in those pieces that were every day sent abroad, in order to exasperate the nation against the Queen and her ministers." Upon so delicate a question, any conjecture would at this

97963

period be ridiculous, and as there does not appear to be the least possibility of arriving at a satisfactory conclusion, it would be useless to enter into any discussion on the subject.

A very interesting circumstance connected with Lady Jane Grey, occurred a few years since on making some alterations in the Tower: on converting an apartment in Beauchamp's Tower, which had formerly been the place in which state prisoners were confined, into a mess room for the officers of the garrison there, several inscriptions were discovered on the walls of the room. They appeared to have been made with nails, or some other pointed instrument, and the greater part of them were undoubtedly the autographs of the unfortunate tenants of the place. Amongst them, was the word

IANE . IANE

and which, it has been conjectured, was written by herself, and that some latent meaning was contained in the repetition of her signature, by which she at once styled herself a Queen, and intimated that not even the horrors of a prison would force her to relinquish that title.[a] This suggestion is not, however, entitled to any consideration, for independently of its having been proved that she was

[a] *Archæologia*, Vol. xiii. p. 70, communicated by the Rev. John Brand, Secretary to the Society of Antiquaries

placed in a different apartment from that where this inscription was found, her character and conduct render it extremely unlikely that motives of vanity should have had any place in her wounded mind. Another antiquary has supposed that it was written by her father in-law, the Duke of Northumberland; but the most rational idea which has been suggested on the subject is that of Mr. Bayley,[a] who considers it to have been inscribed by her unhappy partner, Lord Guildford Dudley; for nothing is more probable than that in his separation from his wife, he should have solaced himself by marking the walls of his prison with her name. If it could be proved that it was traced by his hand, so affecting a memorial would speak eloquently of his tenderness, and we might feel convinced that the affection which has been attributed to this interesting pair unquestionably existed.

A curious engraving in a similar manner, by the Duke of Northumberland whilst in confinement, is also deserving of notice. It exhibited the device of that once powerful nobleman, and contained within a square, each side of which was about twenty inches long, a bear with a collar and chain, and a lion, the supporters of his arms, holding a ragged staff, the ancient cognizance of the Earls of Warwick; they were surrounded by a border composed

[a] *History of the Tower.*

of a foliage of roses, acorns, and apparently lilies; under the animals was his name,

IOHN DVDLI.

beneath which were the following lines,

YOW THAT THESE BEASTS DO WEL BEHOLDE AND SE,
MAY DEME WITHE EASE WHEREFORE HERE MADE THEY BE
WITHE BORDERS EKE WHEREIN
A BROTHERS NAMES WHO LIST TO SERCHE THE GROVND.

There is much difficulty in comprehending the meaning which the illustrious prisoner intended to convey by these lines and the device. It has been supposed, that a pun was meant, as the *roses* easily separate themselves in the division of his brother Amb*rose*'s christian name,[a] whilst Mr. Howard remarks, that he evidently punned upon his own misfortunes, and his brother Ambrose's name.[b] Neither of these conjectures appear to be strictly correct, and the following, in the absence of a more satisfactory explanation, is submitted. The third line which was either unfinished or had been partly defaced, has not, it is presumed, any connection with the last line; in all probability it stated that the border of roses alluded to the name of his son Ambrose, and it is not impossible but that the acorns and other flowers

[a] *Archæologia*, Vol. xiii. p. 70.
[b] *Lady Jane Grey and Her Times*, p. 319.

bore some allusion to the cognizances or symbols of his other children, who were at the same time confined in the Tower; namely, John, Earl of Warwick, his eldest son, and the Lords Ambrose, Guildford, and Henry Dudley, his younger sons, though from the imperfect manner in which they were sculptured, and our ignorance of their each having adopted some particular cognizance or badge, nothing certain can be determined on the subject. The third line admits of a different interpretation, for the idea that his *brother's* name was meant by the roses, is at once set aside by the simple fact that the Duke of Northumberland never had a brother called Ambrose. His only brothers were Andrew and Henry, the former of whom, Sir Andrew Dudley, Knight of the Garter,[a] was at

[a] It does not appear at what time he received the honor of Knighthood, but in 1551 he obtained a grant of the manor of Whitney, by the style of Sir Andrew Dudley, Knight. On 23 April, 5 Edw. VI. 1562, he was elected a Knight of the Garter, and in October following, upon being recalled from the Castle of Guisnes of which he was Captain, he was appointed gentleman of the King's Privy Chamber, and was soon afterwards nominated Keeper of the Palace of Westminster, and Master of the Wardrobe. He joined in the attempt of his brother, the Duke of Northumberland, to place Lady Jane on the throne, and was condemned to death as a traitor the 19 August, 1553, but was reprieved, and having been pardoned, was discharged from the Tower, 18 October, 1554;

that moment his fellow prisoner for the same crime, and who in all likelihood was alluded to in the last line; for no pun can be deemed too barbarous if it will explain a device of the times.

A brother's names who list to search the ground,

may be understood to mean, that as the border contained the names of his sons, his brother's names would be discovered by searching the ground on which his *hand drew* the lines and device that preceded it; this, however, will only give a pun on his baptismal name AN-DREW, but as the expression is "a brother's names," we must suppose the word DUDLEY to be supplied by the person who *searches the ground* for the solution of the riddle, exclaiming, "*Dudley's hand drew*, this," and we shall at once have ANDREW DUDLEY. This conjecture will doubtlessly be considered "far-fetched," but those who are accustomed to the quaint devices of the period, will not perhaps think it destitute of probability. The two first lines

You that these beasts do well behold and see,
May deem with ease wherefore here made they be.

alluded to his device of the lion, bear, and ragged staff, by which he represented himself; and he

the remainder of his life he passed in privacy at his house in Tothill Street, where he died in 1559. *Biographia Britannia.*

justly observes, that the spectator may easily guess why they are introduced, namely, to explain his having been a tenant of that apartment: the roses are presumed to have been emblematical of his sons, and the lily was, possibly, allegorical of his beauteous daughter in-law, Lady Jane, whilst the last line, it is here conjectured, was allusive to his brother; thus, by this device a memorial was formed of all his kindred who were at that time confined in the Tower. If, however, it be insisted that the allusion in the last line was to Ambrose Dudley, it can only be explained by supposing the device to have been drawn, not as has always been supposed by John, Duke of Northumberland, but by his eldest son John Dudley, who was styled Earl of Warwick, and who, as is before stated, was also committed to the Tower. He survived his father but a few months, having died without issue, on the 21 October, 1554, in the twenty-fourth year of his age.[a]

Before concluding this memoir of Lady Jane Grey, the remarks of Lord Orford on the defects in her title to the throne merit a short notice; especially as her father's first marriage with Lady Katherine Fitz Alan, daughter of the Earl of Arundel, alluded to in a former page,[b] forms one of the objections noticed by that celebrated writer. It is very observable, he remarks, how many de-

[a] *Biog. Britann.* [b] Page xi.

fects concurred in the title of this princess to the crown. 1.—Her descent was from the younger sister of Henry VIII. and there were descendants of the elder living, whose claim had indeed been set aside by the power given by Parliament to king Henry to regulate the succession; but a power which, not being founded on national expedience, could be of no force; and which was additionally invalidated by that king having, by the same authority, settled the crown preferably on his own daughters, who were now both living. 2.—Her mother, from whom alone Jane could derive any right, was alive. 3.—That mother was young enough to have other children (not being past thirty-one at the death of king Edward VI.) and if she had borne a son, his right, prior to that of his sister, was incontestible. 4.—Charles Brandon, father of the Duchess of Suffolk, had married one woman while contracted to another; but was divorced to fulfil his promise: the repudiated wife was living when he married Mary, queen of France, by whom he had the Duchess. 5.—If, however, Charles Brandon's first marriage should still be deemed null, there is no such plea to be made in favour of the Duchess Frances herself, since Henry, Duke of Suffolk, the father of Jane, was actually married to the sister of the Earl of Arundel, whom he

divorced without the least grounds, in order to make room for his marriage with Frances, the mother of Jane.

The first point has been already so fully discussed,[a] that little remains to be said on it. By the usual rules of descent of the crown, the issue of the elder sister would have had an undisputed claim before those of the younger sister; but as the legislature had given Henry VIII. power to regulate the succession by his will, so long as that act remained unrepealed, it is absurd to argue that it was of no force;[b] hence the only circumstance worthy of attention is, that under the will of that monarch, as well as by the statute 35 Hen. VIII. by which power was given to him to limit the descent of the crown by his Will or by Letters Patent, his own daughters were named before Lady Jane, and that, at the time of her succession they were both living. This objection, though in our view of the subject insurmountable, might have worn a different complexion in the

[a] Page xxvi. *et seq.*

[b] On the power given to Henry the Eighth to dispose of the crown by his Will or by his Letters Patent, Sir William Blackstone observes, "a vast power; but notwithstanding, as it was regularly vested in him by the supreme legislative authority, *it was therefore indisputably valid.*" *Commentaries*, Book I. Cap. iii. p. 206.

estimation of her partizans, from the circumstance that both the daughters of Henry the Eighth had been bastardized by statute 28 Hen. VIII. and although by a subsequent act, viz. 35 Hen. VIII.[a] they were rendered legitimate, and included in the limitation of the descent of the crown, still the fact of their having once been solemnly declared incapable of inheriting it, was very important, and it was naturally seized upon as grounds for urging the pretensions of Lady Jane Grey; for, as it has been already observed, she was, agreeably to the will of Henry the Eighth, next in succession to the royal dignity, after the demise of Edward VI. and his sisters Mary and Elizabeth, without issue. Hence it is manifest, that had the two princesses died before their brother without issue, or what would have been the same in effect, if they were considered illegitimate, Lady Jane would on the death of Edward, in 1553, have had fair pretensions to the throne, not certainly according to the usual descent of the royal dignity, but according to the provisions of Henry the Eighth's testament.

The second objection is not for one moment, tenable: it is evident that Lord Orford has fallen into the error of nearly every historian, of consider-

[a] The statutes relating to the succession to the crown, and likewise Henry the Eighth's testament are more fully noticed at the end of the volume.

ing that Lady Jane's mother had a prior right to the throne to her daughter; but it has been before stated, that Lady Jane Grey had no pretensions whatever to the crown whilst issue remained of Henry the Eighth's eldest sister, excepting under the provisions of that monarch's will, and from which her mother, the Duchess of Suffolk, could derive no claim, the limitation being, to the issue of her body.[a]

The third objection is equally invalid: for if the provision of Henry's will, that the crown was on a certain contingency to vest in the issue of the Duchess of Suffolk, was acted upon, whenever that contingency happened, the first person within the limitation would undoubtedly succeed, notwithstanding the possibility of the birth of a son who would have a prior claim. Thus, as the Duchess of Suffolk had no son living at the death of Edward VI. and as the crown was entailed, failing her issue male, on her eldest daughter, if it be conceded that such son would then have had a right to it, Lady Jane Grey must have had precisely the same pretensions as would have been possessed by her brother, had one been in existence. What would have been the effect if her succession to the royal dignity had been undisputed, and her mother had afterwards given birth to a male infant is another question, and one which it is not necessary to discuss.

[a] See page xxvii.

Lord Orford's fourth objection is more material than either of the preceding. The manner in which Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, Lady Jane's maternal grandfather, was divorced from his wife Margaret, daughter of John, Marquess Montague, and widow of Sir John Mortimer, Knight, cannot perhaps be precisely ascertained; and on the subject of his marriages, the statements of Dugdale and his other biographers are not quite correct. So soon as he became a favorite with Henry VIII. his royal master availed himself of every occasion to advance his interests: about 1513, he was contracted to Elizabeth Grey, daughter and heir of John Grey, Viscount Lisle, who was then very young, and on the 15 May following, he was in consequence of that alliance created Viscount Lisle; but on coming of age she refused to complete the engagement, and the patent for that dignity was therefore cancelled. Dugdale asserts, that his first wife was Ann, daughter of Sir Anthony Brown, Knight, and his second Margaret, widow of Sir John Mortimer above mentioned, but in his account of the Brandon family,[a] he takes no notice of his contract with Elizabeth Grey, though in another part of his baronage,[b] he says, that she was "either married or was designed to be married to

[a] Tome ii. p. 299, *et seq.* [b] Tome i. p. 722.

Sir Charles Brandon, by means whereof he had the title of Viscount Lisle granted to him, and the heirs male of her body to be begotten by him." At what time he married Lady Mortimer does not appear, nor are we informed of the manner in which he was divorced from her; but it is positively affirmed that she was living after his marriage with the Queen Dowager of France. It seems, however, sufficient to remark the improbability of his daring to ally himself to the sister of the reigning monarch, had any circumstance existed which could render the validity of that contract at all a subject of suspicion; hence, as his marriage with the French Queen was fully acknowledged at the period when it took place, both by his royal brother in-law and by the nation; and as in a discussion on the subject of the succession in Parliament, anno 13 Eliz. in reference to a charge of bastardy brought against Lady Frances and Lady Eleanor Brandon, the Duke's daughters by the Queen of France, by their illegitimate sister Lady Powis, it was declared that the point of the legality of that marriage had been fully settled both by the laws of the realm and by the canon laws,[a] it is almost absurd, after the lapse of above two centuries, to entertain a doubt on the subject. We

[a] Cottonian MSS. Julius F. vi. Printed in the *Biographia Britannica.*

may therefore safely conclude, that whatever the nature of the Duke of Suffolk's alliance with Lady Mortimer might have been, the connection was not at the time considered to be any impediment to his marriage with the king's sister, for if the contrary was the case, we must believe that Henry the Eighth was aware that his sister was living in open adultery with one of his own subjects!

The fifth and last defect in Lady Jane Grey's title, pointed out by his lordship, is scarcely more important than the preceding, and may be answered by nearly the same arguments. Although it is certain that Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk, had been either married or contracted to Katherine Fitz Alan, daughter of the Earl of Arundel, and notwithstanding that it has been stated[a] that the Earl settled an annuity on her for life; that she survived him several years; and that her brother William, Earl of Arundel, was exceedingly displeased at her having been repudiated; still it must be presumed, that whatever measures were taken on the occasion, they were deemed to be so entirely efficacious as to have enabled him to marry again. The object of the divorce was of course to increase his political importance by an alliance with the blood royal; but can we suppose that he would have presumed to ask

[a] "*Dialogue touching the Succession*," and *MS. Baronagium*, cited in the *Biographia Britannica*.

the hand of the king's niece, if he had then a lawful wife living? or even if he had dared to do so, can an idea more ridiculous be entertained than that such a proposition should be acceded to, either by her royal uncle or by her parents? However desirable the union might have appeared to the Marquess of Dorset, it could not possibly have been so essential to the interests of the Duke and Duchess of Suffolk as to have induced them to connive at their daughter's dishonor: nor would a subject have been permitted to have allied himself so nearly to the blood royal, as to render it possible that the crown might become vested in his descendants, if a suspicion could have been raised against the validity of the marriage itself. Defective as Lady Jane's title to the crown certainly was, it does not appear that either of Lord Orford's objections to her claim have the least validity, with the exception of the latter part of the first; and although that must strike us at the present day as being unanswerable, it is suggested that the circumstances which have been detailed, might have divested it of great part of its weight in the eyes of such of her contemporaries as were disposed to support her claim to the imperial dignity.

The fate of Lady Jane Grey's immediate kindred may be related in a few words. Her father, the Duke of Suffolk, underwent the execution of

his sentence on Tower Hill, on the 23rd February, 1554, eleven days after his daughter and son-in-law fell victims to his ambition: he is stated to have confessed the justice of his punishment, and to have suffered with fortitude and resignation. His widow married, secondly, Adrian Stokes, Esq. a gentleman who held a situation in her household, but by him she had no issue, and died in 1559. A warrant was issued by Queen Elizabeth to the Kings of Arms, to cause the royal ensigns, with a proper distinction, to be borne at her funeral, and placed on her monument, from respect to her kindred to her majesty.[a] The only children of the Duke and Duchess of Suffolk that survived,

[a] The following is a literal copy of the warrant alluded to, and which is introduced from its being of some interest, and because it proves that the Duchess died about the end of October, 1559, whilst Mr. Howard and most other writers assert that her decease occurred in 1563.

BY THE QUENE,

Trusty and welbeloved we great you well, letting you to understand, that for the good zeale, and affection wiche we of long tyme have borne to our dearly beloved cousyn the Lady Fraunces late Duches of Suff', and specially for that she is lynyally descended from our grandfather King Henry the Sevinthe; as also for other causes and consyderations us thereunto moving in perpetuall memory of the same, we have thought it requisyte and expedyent to graunte and give unto her and to her posteryte

besides Lady Jane Grey, were two other daughters, Katherine and Mary. Lady Katherine was

an augmentation of our armes to be borne with the difference to the same by us assigned, and the same to beare in the place of the first quarter, and so to be placyd with the arms of her auncestors as by the orders of our office it is manifest, according to the Skoehin, by us directed unto you in that behaulf, that is to saye, our armes withe a bordure gouboney golde and azur wich shal be an apparent declaration of here consanguynyte unto us. Whereupon we will and requier you to see the same entyrd into your registers and recordes; and at this her funerall to plasse the same augmentation withe her auncesters armes, in banners, baneroles, lozenges, and scochins, as otherwisse, when it shall be thought mete and convenyent. And theis our Letters shalbe your suffycyent warant and discharge in this behaulf. Geeven under our signett at our Palleis of Westmaster, the thierde daye of December, in y^e^ seconde Yeare of our Reigne.

To our trusty and welbeloved Servant, Sr. Gilbert Dethicke, Knight, alias Garter our Princypall King of Armes, and William Harvy, Esquier, alias Clarencieux, Kinge of Armes of the Southe parte of this our Realme of England, and to either of them.

MS. in the College of Arms, marked I. 9 f. 153.^b^ and printed in *Sandford's Genealogical History*, p. 537.

The inscription on the Duchess of Suffolk's tomb in Westminster Abbey, of which a copy is subjoined, does not contain the date of her death.

first married, or rather perhaps betrothed to Henry Herbert, son and heir apparent of William, Earl of Pembroke, but that union does not appear to have been consummated;[a] and she afterwards became the wife of Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, son of the Protector The circumstances attending this alliance, and the misfortunes which from the jealously of Queen Elizabeth, it entailed

Here lyeth the Ladie Frances, Dutchess of Southfolke, daughter to Charles Brandon, Duke of Southfolke, and Mary the French Queene, first wife to Henrie, Duke of Southfolke, and after to Adrian Stock, Esquire.

In clariss. Dom. Franciscæ Suf-
folciæ quondam Ducissæ.
Epicedion.

Nil Decus aut splendor, nil regia nomina prosunt.
Splendida divitis, nil juvat ampla Domus.
Omnia fluxerunt, Virtutis sola remansit.
Gloria, Tartareis, non abolenda rogis.
Nupta duci prius est, uxor post Armigeri Stok.
Funere nunc valeas, consociata Deo.

[a] Fuller attributes the non-completion of this marriage to political motives, for he observes of Lady Katherine Grey, "She was born at Bradgate, and (when her father was in height) married to Henry Lord Herbert, son and heir to the Earl of Pembroke; but the politic old Earl perceiving the case altered, and what was the *high* way to honour, turned into the ready road to ruin, got pardon from Queen Mary, and broke the marriage quite off."

on the Earl and herself, are too well known to require repetition. From this marriage some of the most illustrious families in the kingdom are descended; but the entire representation of the elder line of the once powerful house of Grey of Groby, and consequently of Lady Jane Grey, is now vested in the Duchess of Buckingham and Chandos.

Katherine, Countess of Hertford, died on the 26 January, 1567, after having been for nine years a state prisoner: it appears from the statement of an intelligent writer in the Gentleman's Magazine,[a] that she did not, as Fuller relates, die in the Tower; for although Mr. Bayley[b] informs us that on the 5th September, 4 Eliz. 1562, "The Ladie Katherine Grey and the Erle of Hartford" were prisoners there, yet from the following extract from Reyce's MSS. relating to Suffolk Antiquities, now in the College of Arms, and cited by the anonymous writer just mentioned, it may be inferred that she was subsequently confined at Yoxford, in Suffolk, and where it is certain she was buried.

"There be buried in the church and chancel at Yoxford, the bowels of y^e^ Lady Katherine, wife of Edward Seimour, Earl of Hartford. She was

[a] Vol. XCIII. Part ii. p. 11.

[b] *History of the Tower.*

daughter of Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk, and of Mary, the French Queen, the younger of the two daughters of King Henry VIII:—of the elder, K. James and K. Charles were descended. This Lady Katherine had been committed prisoner to Sir Owen Hopton, Lieftenant of the Tower, for marrying without the Queen's knowledge, and was by him kept at Cockfield Hall, in Yoxfield, being his house, where she died. I have been told by aged people in Yoxford, that after her death, a little dog she had would never more eat any meat, but lay and died upon her grave."

The preceding statement, though not strictly correct in the description of the Countess's connection with the blood royal, is doubtlessly in other respects authentic, as it is corroborated by the following entry in the Parish Register at Yoxford.

"The Lady Katherine Grey, buried 21st Feb. 1567."

Her death is said to have taken place on the 26 January, 1567, but it is singular if she died on that day that she should not have been buried until nearly a month afterwards.

Lady Mary Grey, the Duke of Suffolk's youngest daughter, was deformed in her person;[a] and Fuller, with his peculiar quaintness, remarks, that "frighted with the infelicity of her two

[a] *Baker's Chronicle, Ed.* 1657, p. 309.

sisters, she forgot her honor to remember her safely, and married one whom she could love, and none need fear, Martin Keyes, of Kent, Esq. who was a Judge at Court, but only of doubtful cast of dice, being Serjeant Porter." She died without issue, on the 20th of April, 1578.

To the memoir of the life of Lady Jane Grey, it is almost unnecessary to add any general delineation of her character, for the actions of mankind, if related with fidelity, are far more satisfactory evidence of merit than any deduction from them by the biographer. In the instance of this exemplary woman, no other language than that of unqualified praise can possibly be used: her conduct as a daughter and a wife afford ample scope for panegyric; and her extraordinary attainments, fortitude, and piety, have ever been the subject of admiration. In the assumption of the royal dignity —the only action of her life which can be at all censured—we have seen that she yielded to the commands of her parents and the entreaties of her husband, rather than to any ambitious feelings of her own; and it appears extremely probable, that the most powerful motive which induced her to forget her allegiance to her sovereign, was the certainty that no other means existed by which the lives and fortunes of her nearest relatives could have been preserved. Thus, her every action seems to have

originated in virtue; and although neither her beauty, her acquirements, nor her innocence, could save her from a premature and disgraceful death, it may with truth be affirmed, that on the tomb of LADY JANE GREY, perhaps with more justice than on that of any other inheritor of mortality, might the emphatic lines of our bard be inscribed,

> "Now boast thee death! in thy possession lies
> A lass unparalled."

NOTES.

The frequent reference which has been made in the preceding memoir to the statutes passed in the reign of Henry the Eighth, relative to the succession, as well as to the will of that monarch, makes it desirable that a full abstract of them should be appended thereto. The proof which these acts afford of the contemptible venality of the Parliaments of the period; the extraordinary dereliction of all moral principle which they exhibit, not only in perverting justice and humanity to gratify the caprice of a tyrant, but also the shameless hypocrisy of attempting to cover their own baseness by the pretence of acting acceptably to the Almighty, and in accordance to his laws; and still more, the importance of these documents as data for the impartial consideration of the question of Lady Jane's pretensions to the throne, render them highly curious; and it is hoped, justifies the introduction of so long a note.

The first Statute connected with the succession was that of 25th Henry VIII. cap. 22, passed in the early part of the year 1534, to confirm his divorce from Katherine of Arragon, and to legalize his marriage with Anne Boleyn.

The Preamble recites "that since it is the natural inclination of every man gladly and willingly to provide for the surety of both his title and succession, although it touch his only private cause," they, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons in the present Parliament assembled, reckon themselves bounden to beseech and instant

his Highness, although they doubt not his princely heart and wisdom, to forsee and provide for the perfect surety of both him and his most lawful succession and heirs, upon which depended all their joy and wealth; in whom also was united, and knit the only mere true inheritance and title of this realm, without any contradiction. Wherefore they, calling to mind the great divisions which in times past had been in this realm, by reason of several titles pretended to the Imperial Crown, &c. "in consideration whereof your said most humble and obedient subjects, the Nobles and Commons of this realm, calling further to their remembrance that the good unity, peace, and wealth of this realm, and the succession of the subjects of the same most especially and principally above all worldly things, consisteth and resteth in the certainty and surety of the procreation and posterity of your Highness, in whose most royal person at this present time is no manner of doubt nor question, do therefore most humbly beseech your Highness that it may please your Majesty, that it may be enacted by your Highness with the assent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons in this Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that the marriage heretofore solemnized between your Highness and the Lady Katherine, being before lawful wife to Prince Arthur your elder brother, which by him was carnally known, as doth duly appear by sufficient prove as a lawful process had and made before Thomas, by the sufferance of God, now Archbishop of Canterbury, and Metropolitan and Primate of all this realm, shall be by authority of this present Parliament, definitively, clearly, and absolutely declared, deemed, and adjuged to be against the laws of Almighty God, and also accepted and reputed, and taken of no value nor effect, but utterly void and adnychyled, and

the separation thereof made by the said Archbishop, shall be good and effectual to all intents and purposes, any license, dispensation, or any other act or acts going afore or ensuing the same, to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding. And that every such license, dispensation, act or acts, thing or things, heretofore had, made, done, or to be done to the contrary, shall be void and of none effect; and that the said Lady Katherine shall be from henceforth called and reputed only Dowager to Prince Arthur, and not Queen of this realm. And that the lawful matrimony had and solemnized between your Highness and your most dear and entirely beloved wife Queen Anne, shall be established and taken for undoubtful, true, sincere, and perfect, ever hereafter, according to the just judgment of Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, Metropolitan and Primate of all this realm, whose grounds of judgment have been confirmed as well by the Holy Clergy of this realm in both the convocations, and by both the universities thereof, as by the universities of Bonony, Padua, Paris, Orleans, Toulouse, Anjou, and divers others, and also by the private writing of many right excellent and learned men, which grounds so confirmed and judgment of the said Archbishop ensuing the same, together with your marriage solemnized between your Highness and your said lawful wife Queen Anne, we your said subjects, both Spiritual and Temporal, do purely, plainly, constantly, and firmly accept, approve, and ratify for good and consonant to the laws of Almighty God without error or default, most humbly beseeching your Majesty that it may be so established for ever by your most gracious and royal assent." The Act then enumerates the different prohibited degrees of marriage, and states that none can dispense with God's law; and it is enacted that no one of what degree, estate, or dig-

nity soever, shall in future marry within the prohibited degrees; that if any have before been married within the said degrees of kindred, such marriage shall be dissolved and the issue of the same "shall not be lawful nor legitimate;" and that persons so married shall be separated by the sentence of the ordinary only, without any appeal to Rome. It then proceeds, "And also be it enacted by authority aforesaid, that all the issue had and procreate, or hereafter to be had and procreate between your Highness and your said most dear and entirely beloved wife Queen Anne, shall be your lawful children and be inheritable, and inherit according to the course of inheritance and laws of this realm, the Imperial Crown of the same with all dignities, honors, preeminencies, prerogatives, authorities, and jurisdictions to the same annexed or belonging, in as large and ample manner as your Highness to this present time hath the same as King of this realm, the inheritance thereof to be and remain to your said children and right heirs in manner and form as hereafter shall be declared. That is to say, first, the said Imperial Crown and other the premises shall be to your Majesty and to your heirs of your body lawfully begotten; that is to say, to the first son of your body between your Highness and your said lawful wife Queen Anne begotten, and to the heirs of the body of the same first son lawfully begotten; and for default of such heirs then to the second son of your body and of the body of the said Queen Anne begotten, and to the heirs of the body of the said second son lawfully begotten; and so to every son of your body and of the body of the said Queen Anne begotten, and to the heirs of the body of every such son begotten according to the course of inheritance in that behalf. And if it shall happen your said dear and entirely beloved wife Queen

Anne, to decease without issue male of the body of your Highness to be gotten, (which God defend) then the same Imperial Crown and all other the premises to be to your Majesty as is aforesaid, and to the son and heir male of your body lawfully begotten, and to the heirs of the body of the same son and heir male lawfully begotten. And for default of such issue then to your second son of your body lawfully begotten, and to the heirs of the body of the same second son lawfully begotten; and so from son and heir male to son and heir male, and to the heirs of the several bodies of every such son and heir male to be gotten according to the course of inheritance in like manner and form as is above said. And for default of such sons of your body begotten and of the heirs of the several bodies of every such sons lawfully begotten, that then the said Imperial Crown and other the premises shall be to the issue female between your Majesty and your said most dear and entirely beloved wife Queen Anne begotten: that is to say, first to the eldest issue female which is the Lady Elizabeth, now Princess, and to the heirs of her body lawfully begotten; and for default of such issue, then to the second issue female and to the heirs of her body lawfully begotten, and so from issue female to issue female, and to their heirs of their bodies one after another by course of inheritance, according to their ages, as the Crown of England hath been accustomed and ought to go in cases where there be heirs females to the same. And for default of such issue, then the said Imperial Crown and all other the premises shall be in the right heirs of your Highness for ever." It is then provided, that if any person shall maliciously do any thing by writing, print, deed, or act, to the peril of the King, or to the prejudice of his marriage with Queen Anne, or of the issue inheritable to

the Crown under this act, he shall be declared guilty of High Treason, and that those committing such offences by word only shall be declared guilty of misprision of Treason. The eighth clause enacts, that upon the King's demise, the issue male under eighteen years of age, or female issue unmarried under sixteen, who should inherit the Crown, should be under the guardianship of their mother, "with such other counsellors of your realm as your Majesty in your life time shall depute and assign by your will or otherwise;" and that if any person by writing or exterior deed, or act, procure or do, or cause to be procured or done any thing or things to the let or disturbance of the same, that then such opposers shall be subject to the penalties of High Treason. The ninth clause provides, that all subjects shall be sworn to the performance of this act on pain of misprision of Treason; and the tenth and concluding clause enacts, that the prohibition of marriages within the degrees mentioned in this act, "shall always be taken and interpreted, and expounded of such marriages, where marriages were solemnized, and carnal knowledge had."

Queen Anne Boleyn was executed on Friday, the 19th May, 28 Hen. VIII. 1536, and by Statute 28 Hen. VIII. cap. 7. passed in June or July, 1536, of which the following is an abstract, her marriage with the King was declared void *ab initio*, and the issue of it, namely the Princess afterwards Queen Elizabeth illegitimated. It is remarkable, that although the crimes of adultery and incest, which formed the *pretence* for Anne Boleyn's disgrace and murder, are alluded to in this act, still she is not expressly charged with either; the words being merely that she *confederated* with her brother Lord Rochfort, Norris, Weston, and Sme-

ton, and "committed most detestable and abominable treasons."

The Preamble, after reciting the Statute 25 Hen. VIII. cap. 22. just noticed, for limiting the succession, proceeds: "And albeit most dread Sovereign Lord, that the said Acts were then made, as it was then thought by your Majesty, Nobles, and Commons, upon a pure, perfect, and clear foundation, thinking the said marriage then had between your Highness and the said Lady Anne, in their consciences to have been pure, sincere, perfect and good, and so was reputed, accepted, and taken in the Realm, 'till now of late that God of his infinite goodness, from whom no secret things can be hid, hath caused to be brought to light evident and open knowledge as well of certain just, true, and lawful impediment unknown at the making of the said acts, and since that time confessed by the said Lady Anne, before the most Reverend Father in God, Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, Metropolitan and Primate of all England, sitting judicially for the same, by the which plainly appeareth that the said marriage between your Grace and the said Lady Anne was never good, nor consonant to the laws, but utterly void and of none effect; by reason whereof your Highness was, and is lawfully divorced and separated from the bonds of the same marriage, in the life of the said Anne. And this notwithstanding most gracious Sovereign Lord, the Lady Elizabeth, your daughter, being born under the said unlawful marriage, by virtue and authority of the said act of your succession, above remembered, for lack of heirs males of your body, should immediately succeed as your lawful heir in the most royal estate of your Imperial Crown of this realm, against all honor, equity, reason, and good conscience, if remedy should not be provided for the same." It then states,

that his Majesty being ignorant of any lawful impediment, entered into the said unlawful marriage with the said Lady Anne, but that she being nevertheless "inflamed with pride and carnal desires, confederated with George Boleyn, late Lord Rochford, her natural brother, Henry Norreys, Esq., Francis Weston, Knight, William Brereton, Gent. and Mark Smeton, and committed most detestable and abominable treasons;" and of which they had been convicted and suffered accordingly: in consequence whereof it is enacted, that the Acts of 25 Hen. VIII. c. 22 and 26 Hen. VIII. c. 2, (the latter of which merely recited part of the former, and ratified the oath to be taken for the due observance of the succession provided by it,) "shall be repealed, and nulled, and made frustrate and of none effect." The second clause provides, that such repeal shall not discharge any one from treasons committed against the said Acts; but by the next clause all persons who have spoken or acted against Queen Anne, and her daughter Elizabeth, whereby they may have incurred the peril of Treason under those acts, are declared to be pardoned and released from all penalties of Treason or Misprision. The fourth clause is one of attainder and forfeiture against Queen Anne and her accomplices for Treason. The fifth clause recites, that "for as much as it hath pleased your most royal Majesty, notwithstanding the great and intolerable perils and occasions which your Highness hath suffered and sustained" in former marriages, to enter into marriage again, "and have chosen and taken a right noble, virtuous, and excellent Lady, Queen Jane to your true and lawful wife, and have lawfully celebrated and solemnized marriage with her according to the laws of Holy Church, who for her convenient years, excellent beauty, and pureness of flesh and blood, is

apt, (God willing,) to conceive issue by your Highness; which marriage is so pure and sincere, without spot, doubt, or impediment, that the issue procreated under the same, when it shall please God to send it, cannot be lawfully, truly, nor justly interrupted or disturbed of the right in the succession of your Crown." It may therefore, for the prevention of future doubts, &c. please your most gracious Majesty, by consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, that it be enacted: "First, that forasmuch as the marriage heretofore solemnized between your Highness and the Lady Katherine, late Princess Dowager, deceased, which afore was lawful wife to your natural brother, Prince Arthur, and by him," &c. (here follow nearly the same words as occur relative to this marriage, in the Act of 25 Hen. VIII. c. 22.) and that the said marriage "shall be by authority of this present Parliament, definitively, clearly, and absolutely declared, deemed, and adjudged to be against the laws of Almighty God, and also accepted, reputed, and taken of no value nor effect, but utterly void and annichiled," and also, "that the issue born and procreated under the same unlawful marriage made and solemnized between your Highness and the said Lady Katherine, shall be taken, deemed, and accepted, illegitimate, to all intents and purposes, and shall be utterly foreclosed, excluded, and barred to claim, challenge, or demand any inheritance as lawful heir to your Highness by lineal descent." It is then by the following clause provided, "that the marriage between your Highness, and the late Queen Anne, shall be taken, reputed, deemed, and adjudged to be of no force, strength, virtue, nor effect;"—"and that all the issues, and children born and procreated under the same marriage, between your Highness and the said late

Queen Anne, shall be taken, reputed, and accepted to be illegitimate, to all intents and purposes, and utterly foreclosed, excluded, and barred to claim, challenge, or demand any inheritance as lawful heir or heirs to your Highness by lineal descent, the said former Act made in the last Parliament, for the establishment of your succession, or any thing therein contained, or any other thing or things contrary thereof, in any wise notwithstanding." The next clause, like Statute 25 Hen. VIII. cap. 22, relates to the prohibited degrees of marriage, and it is then enacted: "that all the issue hereafter to be had and procreate between your Highness and your said most dear and entirely beloved lawful wife, Queen Jane, shall be your lawful children and heirs, and be inheritable and inherit according to the course of inheritance and laws of this realm, the Imperial Crown." The limitation then follows in nearly the same words as the Crown was limited to the issue of the King by Queen Anne Boleyn, namely, to each of his sons by Queen Jane, and their heirs successively and respectively; in default of which, to his sons by any other lawful wife, and the heirs of their bodies; failing which "to the issue female between your Majesty and your said most dear and entirely beloved wife, Queen Jane begotten, and for lack of such issue, then to the heirs female of your body lawfully begotten by any other lawful wife." It is next provided that as it is uncertain whether his Majesty would have issue by his said wife Queen Jane, and in default of his issue by any other lawful wife, and no provision being made in his life-time who should succeed to the Crown, and as it might be dangerous for him then to name a successor, in default of issue of his body, lest it might happen that the person so named might, "take great heart and courage, and by presumption fall to

inobedience and rebellion, by occasion of which premises great division and dissention, may be and is very likely to arise and spring in the realm, to the great peril and destruction of us your most humble and obedient subjects, and of all our posterities, if remedy for the same should not be provided," they putting all their whole trust and confidence in his Highness, pray that it may be enacted, "That your Highness shall have full and plenar power and authority to give, dispose, appoint, assign, declare, and limit by your letters patent under your great seal, or else by your last will made in writing, and signed with your most gracious hand, at your only pleasure, from time to time hereafter, the Imperial Crown of this realm, and all other the premises thereunto belonging, to be, remain, succeed, and come after your decease, and for lack of lawful heirs of your body to be procreated and begotten as is afore limited by this act, to such person or persons, in possession or remainder, as shall please your Highness, and according to such estate, and after such manner, form, fashion, order, and condition, as shall be expressed, declared, named, and limited in your said letters patent, or by your said last will. And we your most humble and obedient subjects do faithfully promise to your Majesty by one common assent, that after your decease, and for lack of heirs of your body lawfully begotten, as is afore rehearsed, we our heirs and successors shall accept and take, love, dread, serve, and all only obey such person or persons, males or females, as your Majesty shall give your said Imperial Crown unto by authority of this Act, and to none other; and wholly to stick to them, as true and faithful subjects ought to do, to their regal rulers, governors, and supreme heads."—"And for sure corroboration," it was further enacted, that such person or persons

as to whom it shall please your Majesty to dispose, limit, and assign your said Crown, and other the premises thereto appertaining by your letters patent, or by your last will as is aforesaid, shall have and enjoy the same after your decease, and for lack of heirs of your body lawfully begotten, according to such estate, and after such manner, form, fashion, order, and condition, as shall be thereof expressed, mentioned, and contained in your said letters patent, or in your last will, in as large and ample manner as if such person and persons had been your lawful heirs to the Imperial Crown of this Realm, and as if the same Crown of this Realm, had been given and limited to them, plainly and particularly by special names, and sufficient terms and words, by the full and immediate authority of this your most high Court of Parliament." The next clause enacts, that if any of the King's heirs or children usurp against each other, or if they, or the persons to whom the Crown may be limited under the powers of this Act, disturb the descent or limitation under this Act, they shall be deemed guilty of High Treason, and shall forfeit "as well all such right, title, and interest, that they may claim or challenge in or to the Crown of this Realm, as heirs by descent, or by reason of any gift or Act, that shall be done by your Highness, for his or their advancement, by authority of this Act or otherwise, by any manner of means, or pretence whatsoever it be."

The next clause provides, that all persons that shall do any thing to the peril of the King, his heirs, or successors to the Crown, or by words, writing, deed, or act, procure or do any thing for the "interruption, repeal, or annullation of this act," or of the King's dispositions by force thereof; or to the prejudice of his marriage with Queen Jane, or of the succession of his issue, or successors

under this act, or of their fame, persons, or title, or shall judge the King's former marriages with the Lady Katherine, or the Lady Anne, to be valid, or shall impugn the divorces pronounced against such marriage, or shall call the children of such marriages legitimate, or under any pretence shall attempt to deprive the King or his heirs or successors of title or power, or on being required shall refuse to answer interrogatories on oath, relating to this act, all such persons shall be adjudged high traitors, and shall suffer death, and forfeit all their lands and goods. The remaining clauses provide, that offenders in treason under this act shall not have privilege of sanctuary; that upon the King's demise, issue male under eighteen, or issue female, capable of inheriting the Crown, unmarried under sixteen years of age, shall be under the guardianship of their mother and a Council, or a Council only as the King's will shall direct, and that all persons opposing the same, shall be deemed guilty of High Treason; that all subjects shall be sworn to the performance of this act; that all persons suing livery out of the King's hands, shall take the said oath, and that those refusing to do so, or protesting "when they shall be examined upon any interrogatories, that shall be objected to them, for or concerning this Act, or any thing therein contained, that they be not bound to declare their thoughts and conscience, and stifly therein abide," shall be adjudged guilty of High Treason; that if the King at any time by his letters patent or will, shall advance any person or persons of his most royal blood, to any title or dignity, and grant them any estate, such patent or will shall be as valid as if specified in this act, and as if granted by authority of Parliament; "And be it finally enacted by authority aforesaid, that this present Act, and

every clause, article and sentence comprised in the same, shall be taken and accepted according to the plain words and sentences herein contained, and shall not be interpreted nor expounded by colour of any pretence or cause, or by any subtle arguments, inventions, or reasons, to the hindrance, disturbance, or derogation of this act, or any part thereof; any thing or things, act or acts of Parliament, heretofore made, or hereafter to be had, done, or made to contrary thereof notwithstanding; and that every act, statute, law, provision, thing, and things heretofore had or made, or hereafter to be had, done, or made contrary to the effect of this Statute, shall be void, and of no value nor force."

Queen Jane Seymour died 12 October, 1537, and according to the provisions of the stat. 28 Hen. VIII. just recited, her son Prince Edward, was the undoubted heir to the throne; but about May, 1543, immediately after the king's marriage with his sixth and last wife Katherine Parr, another statute, viz. 35 Hen. VIII. cap. 1, was, from the motives assigned in the preamble, passed to regulate the succession, and of which the following is an abstract. The most singular part of it is, that although Mary and Elizabeth were included in the limitation of the crown, they are described only as the king's daughters, without the slightest reference to the proceedings which had annulled the marriages of their respective mothers; and indeed without any allusion to the question of the legitimacy of their births. Hence it would appear that though the crown was on a certain contingency to vest in them and the heirs of their bodies, they were still in fact illegitimate, for it can scarcely be contended that the circumstance of their being described as the king's

daughters would be construed to repeal the solemn act of the 25 and 28 Hen. VIII. by which they had both been expressly bastardized.

The preamble recites the statute of 28 Hen. VIII. c. 7. and states that since the making of that act, his Majesty had only issue of his body lawfully begotten, betwixt his Highness and his said late wife, Queen Jane, the noble and excellent Prince Edward, whom Almighty God long preserve; that his Majesty had since the death of Queen Jane taken to his wife the most virtuous and gracious Lady Katherine, now Queen of England, late wife of John Nevile, Knt. Lord Latimer, deceased, by whom as yet his Majesty had no issue, "but may have full well when it shall please God;" and forasmuch "as our most dread Sovereign Lord the King, upon good and just ground and causes, intendeth by God's grace to make a voyage royal, in his royal person unto the realm of France, against his ancient enemy the French King, his Majesty most prudently and wisely calling to his remembrance how this realm standeth at this present time, in the case of succession, acknowledging that it is the only pleasure and will of Almighty God, how long his Highness or his entirely beloved son Prince Edward shall live, and whether the said Prince shall have heirs of his body lawfully begotten or not, or whether his Highness shall have heirs begotten and procreated between his Majesty and his said most dear and entirely beloved wife Queen Katherine, that now is, or any lawful heirs and issues of his own body, begotten by any other his lawful wife, and albeit that the King's most excellent Majesty, for default of such heirs as be inheritable by the said act, might by authority of the said act give and dispose the said Imperial Crown, and other the premises by his letters patent under his great seal, or

by his last will in writing signed with his most gracious hand, to any person or persons of such estate therein as should please his Highness to limit and appoint, yet to the intent that his Majesty's disposition and mind therein should be openly declared, and manifestly known and ratified, as well to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, as to all other his loving and obedient subjects of this his realm, to the the intent that their assent and consent might appear to concur with thus far as followeth of his Majesty's declaration in this behalf: his Majesty therefore thinketh convenient afore his departure beyond the seas, that it be enacted by his Highness with the assent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons in the present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, and therefore be it enacted by authority aforesaid, that in case it shall happen the King's Majesty, and the said excellent Prince, his yet only son, Prince Edward, and heir apparent, to decease without heir of either of their bodies lawfully begotten, (as God defend,) so that there be no such heir, male or female, of their two bodies to have and inherit the said Imperial Crown and other his dominions according and in such manner and form as in the aforesaid act, and now in this is declared, that then the said Imperial Crown, and other the premises shall be to the Lady Mary, the King's Highness daughter, and to the heirs of the body of the same Lady Mary, lawfully begotten with such conditions as by his Highness shall be limited by his letters patent, under his great seal, or by his Majesty's last will in writing, signed with his gracious hand; and for default of such issue, the said Imperial Crown, and other the premises, shall be to the Lady Elizabeth, the King's second daughter, and to the heirs of the body of the said Lady Elizabeth, lawfully be-

gotten with such conditions as by his Highness shall be limited by his letters patent under his great seal, or by his Majesty's last will in writing, signed with his gracious hand; any thing in the said act, made in the xxviijth year of our said Sovereign Lord, to the contrary of this act, notwithstanding." The next clauses provide, that on breach of the conditions which may be imposed by his Majesty, the crown shall come to the Lady Elizabeth, as though the said Lady Mary were then dead without heirs of her body, and that if the said Lady Mary do keep and perform such conditions, and that the said Lady Elizabeth for her part, do not keep and perform such conditions, the crown shall, for lack of heirs of the several bodies of the King's Majesty, the said Lord Prince, and of the said Lady Mary, lawfully begotten, come to the persons limited by the King's letters patent, or by his will shall limit and appoint; that on failure of issue of Lady Elizabeth, and breach of conditions by Lady Mary, the crown shall come to such person as shall be appointed by the King in manner aforesaid; that if no condition be limited by his Majesty, the estate of the Lady Mary and Lady Elizabeth in the crown, shall be absolute. By the sixth clause in the act, the King is empowered to limit the succession of the crown in reversion or remainder by patent or will in case of failure of issue of the Ladies Mary and Elizabeth, in nearly the same words as similar power was vested in him by statute 28 Hen. VIII. c. 7. The seventh, eighth, and ninth clauses, relate to oaths ordered to be taken by statute 28 Hen. VIII. c. 10, against the authority of the See of Rome, and provide another oath to be taken instead thereof. The tenth clause enacts, that persons doing any thing by words, writing, printing, or by any exterior act or deed tending to procure

the repeal, &c. of this act, or to the interruption, &c. of any limitation of the crown, &c. under this act, shall be declared guilty of High Treason.

The following is a copy of that part of Henry the Eighth's Will, dated 30th December, in the 38th year of his reign, 1546, which related to the succession, and which under the operation of the statutes 28th and 35th, Hen. VIII. on that subject, was of unquestionable authority.

"And as for and concerning the order and disposition of the Imperial Crown of these realms of England, Ireland, with our title of France, and all dignities, honors, &c. for the sure establishment of the succession of the same, and also for a full declaration, limitation, &c. with which conditions our daughters Mary and Elizabeth, shall severally hold, use, and enjoy the said Imperial Crown after our decease, and for default of issue of our son Prince Edward lawfully begotten and his heirs; and also for a full declaration, limitation, &c. to whom, and in which manner, form, and condition, the said Imperial Crown shall remain, and come after our decease; and for default of issue, and heirs of the several bodies of us, our said son Prince Edward, and of our said daughters Mary and Elizabeth, lawfully begotten, we by these presents make and declare our last will and testament concerning the Imperial Crown, in manner and form following: that is to say, immediately after our decease, our said son Prince Edward, shall have, and enjoy, the said Imperial Crown, realm of England, Ireland, our title of France, with all dignities, honors, preeminences, &c. to him and his heirs of his body lawfully begotten; and for default of such issue, we will that the said Imperial Crown, &c. after our two deceases shall wholly remain and come to the heirs of our body lawfully begotten of

the body of our entirely beloved wife, Queen Katherine,[a] that now is, or of any other our lawful wife, that we shall hereafter marry for each of such issue and heirs: and for default of issue of our said son Prince Edward, the said Imperial Crown, &c. shall wholly remain, and come to our said daughter Mary, and the heirs of her body lawfully begotten, upon condition that our said daughter Mary, after our decease shall not marry without the consent of the Privy Counsellors and others appointed by us to our dearest son Prince Edward aforesaid, to be of council, or of the most part of them, or of the most part of them as shall be then alive, thereunto had before the said marriage in writing sealed with their seals; all which conditions we declare, limit, appoint, and will by these presents, shall be knit and invested to the said estate of our daughter Mary, in the said imperial Crown and all other the premises. And if it fortune our said daughter do die, without lawful issue we will that the said Imperial Crown, and other the premises shall wholly remain, and come to our said daughter Elizabeth, and to the heirs of her body, lawfully begotten, upon condition that she do not marry, &c." as is just stated, with respect to her sister Mary. "If it so happen, that our said daughter Elizabeth do die without lawful issue, and for default of issue of the bodies of us, of our said son Prince Edward, and our said daughters, Mary and Elizabeth, the said Imperial Crown shall wholly remain, and come to the heirs of the body of the Lady Frances,[b] our niece, eldest daughter to our late sister the French Queen,[c] lawfully begotten; and for de-

[a] Queen Katherine Parr, Henry's sixth and last wife.

[b] Wife of Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk, and mother of Lady Jane Grey.

[c] Mary Tudor, Henry's *youngest* sister; she married first Louis XII. King of France, by whom she had no issue, and secondly, Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk.

fault of such issue of the body of the said Lady Frances, we will that the said Imperial Crown, and other the premises, shall wholly remain, and come to the heirs of the body of the Lady Eleanor our niece, second daughter to our said late sister, the French Queen[a] lawfully begotten; and if it so happen that the said Lady Eleanor die without issue, then we will that the said Imperial Crown shall come to our next rightful heirs. Also we will that if the said Lady Mary marry without the consent before described, the said Imperial Crown shall wholly remain to our said daughter Elizabeth, in the same manner as if the said Lady Mary were then dead without any lawful issue; and if the said Lady Elizabeth do not marry according to the said conditions, then that the said Imperial Crown shall wholly remain to the heirs of the said Lady Frances, as if the said Lady Elizabeth were then dead without lawful issue."[b]

No other act of Parliament passed relating to the succession, until the 1st Edward VI. when by statute 1 Edw. VI. cap. 12, alluded to in page xxxiii. of this volume, for the repeal of certain statutes concerning Treasons, Felonies, &c. it was by the eighth clause provided, "That if any of the heirs of the King our said Sovereign Lord that now is, or any person or persons to whom the crown and dignity of this realm is limited and appointed by act of Parliament made in the xxxvth year of the reign of the said late King Henry the Eighth, or the heirs of any of them, do at any time hereafter usurp the one of them upon

[a] She married Henry Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, K. G. and left issue. *Vide the Genealogical Table.*

[b] *Testamenta Vetusta*, Vol. I. pp. 37, 39.

the other in the crown of this realm, or demand, challenge, or claim the same, otherwise, or in any other form or degree of descent or succession, or in any other course, form, degree, or condition, but only in such manner and form as is declared by the said statute, or if any of the said heirs or persons aforesaid do attempt or let the King's Highness that now is peaceably and quietly, to keep, have, and enjoy the said Imperial Crown, that then all and singular, the offenders, their aiders, comforters, abettors, procurers, and counsellors therein, shall be deemed and adjudged High Traitors, and shall suffer and incur the pains of death, losses, and forfeitures, as is aforesaid, in cases of High Treason."

Thus, at the period when Lady Jane Grey usurped the royal dignity, Mary had not only a superior claim under the stat. 35 Hen VII. cap. 7. and under Henry the Eighth's will, but that statute had been solemnly ratified by the act of Parliament 1 Edw. VI. just noticed, and the penalties of High Treason were denounced against all who should attempt to disturb the order of succession provided by it; and it was under this statute, that both Jane and her partizans suffered. The only possible considerations which, therefore, can be urged in favour of her claim was the fact, that at the period when Edward VI. died, both the princesses were by express legislative enactments illegitimate, and that the very statute which settled the crown on them, did not remove the stain of bastardy which had been fixed upon them. Still however, the attempt to place her on the throne was an undoubted act of treason, though attended by more palliating circumstances, than perhaps ever accompanied any previous usurpation. Immediately after Mary's accession, an act passed to repeal the statutes which had legalized her mother's

divorce and her own illegitimacy; the preamble to which, thus commences, "Forasmuch as truth, being of her own nature of a most excellent virtue, efficacy, force, and working, cannot but by process of time break out and shew herself, howsoever for awhile she may, by the iniquity and frailty of man, be suppressed and kept close, and being revealed and manifested, ought to be embraced, &c." it is enacted, that the marriage between the late King Henry shall be true and valid; the sentence of divorce is declared void; the statute of 25 Hen. VIII. c. 22, and so much of stat. 28 Hen. VIII. c. 7, as illegitimates Queen Mary, is declared void and rendered of no effect, as if it "had never been had, nor made."

This statute of course confirmed the illegitimacy of the Princess Elizabeth, for as by it the divorce of Henry from Katherine of Arragon was annulled, and all proceedings on the subject absolutely repealed, no marriage between Henry and any other woman could be considered valid until after the death of Katherine. That event did not take place until January 1536, and Queen Elizabeth was born 7 September, 1553, consequently whilst the statute of 1 Mary, cap. 1, remains unrepealed, Elizabeth cannot be deemed to have been born in lawful wedlock. Though sensible of this circumstance, the act passed on her accession, stat. 1 Eliz. cap. 3. in no degree bore on the point, further than to acknowledge that she was "rightly, lineally, and lawfully descended from the blood royal," and that the crown was undoubtedly vested in her person; the question of the validity of her mother's marriage, and the provisions of former statutes on the subject not being in the slightest degree alluded to. The statute 1st Eliz. cxxiii. which enacted that her majesty should

thenceforth "be enabled in blood, and be inheritable according to the due order and course of the common laws of this your realm to the late Queen Anne your Highness's mother, and to all other your majesty's ancestors and cousins of the part of your said mother; and that as much of every act, record, sentence, judgment, &c. whatsoever, as is, or shall be hereunto contrary or repugnant, shall be from henceforth clearly and utterly void and none effect," proves that the stat. 1 Eliz. c. 3, was not considered to have legalized her birth; nor, it is contended, was that effect produced even by the act in question, which like the preceding, cautiously avoided any allusion to that delicate point.

The preamble to stat. 1 Eliz. c. 3, just alluded to, merely expresses the cause the nation has to rejoice that it has pleased God to preserve her Royal Majesty, their most rightful and lawful sovereign liege Lady and Queen, most happily to reign over them, and states, that it is acknowledged by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons in full Parliament assembled "that your Highness is rightly, lineally, and lawfully descended and come of the blood royal of this realm, in and to whose princely person and the heirs of your body, lawfully to be begotten after you, without all doubt, ambiguity, scruple, or question, the imperial and royal estate, place, crown, and dignity of this realm, with all honors, &c. are and shall be most fully, rightfully, really, and entirely invested and incorporated, united, annexed, &c. to all intents and purposes, as the same were in the said late King Henry the Eighth, or in the late King Edward's the Sixth, your Highnesses brother, or in the late Queen Mary, your Highnesses sister, at any time since the act of Parliament made in the xxxvth year of the reign of your said most noble father King Henry the Eighth, entitled,

&c.;" and the limitation of the crown, under stat. 35 Hen. VIII. c. 1, is declared perpetual, and all sentences, &c. to the contrary void.

During the long reign of Queen Elizabeth, the only measure taken on the subject of the succession, was in 1571, when by statute 13 Eliz. it was declared to be High Treason to deny the Queen's title, or to call her a heretic; also for any claimant, during the Queen's life, to pretend to any right of succession contrary to the Queen's proclamation, or to deny the power of the common law, or of this or any other act to limit the descent of the crown; and after the Queen's decease the same offences were declared to be punishable with forfeiture of goods; also that persons printing or publishing during the life of the Queen, that any person, before the same is by act of Parliament declared, is heir to the throne, shall for the first offence suffer one year's imprisonment, &c.; and for the second incur the penalties of the statute of premunire. This act did not, however, repeal or alter the statute of 35th Hen. VIII. on the subject; hence at her death in 1603, as that statute had been not only unrepealed, but ratified and confirmed by stat. 1 Eliz. cap. 3, above noticed, the heir to the throne agreeable to its provisions, was Edward Seymour, commonly called Lord Beauchamp, now represented by the present Duchess of Buckingham and Chandos, he being heir of the body of Frances Brandon, Duchess of Suffolk;[a] but James the Sixth of Scotland, being according to the ancient course of descent of the Crown the undoubted heir to the Imperial Dignity, his right was at once recognized by the nation, and confirmed by a statute passed immediately after

[a] *Vide the Genealogical Table.*

his accession, namely, in the Parliament which met at Westminster 19th March, 1st Jaq. anno. 1604, entitled "A most just recognition of the immediate lawful and undoubted succession, descent, and right of the crown," which alludes to the union of the houses of York and Lancaster; describes his majesty's descent from the eldest daughter of King Henry VII.; recognizes that immediately upon Queen Elizabeth's death, the crown of England descended to King James by lawful birth-right and descent; and declares "that his majesty is of the realms and kingdoms of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, the most potent and mighty king; and by God's goodness more able to protect and govern us your loving subjects in all peace and plenty, than any of your noble progenitors."

From the preceding abstracts and observations, the following curious historical facts may be deduced.

1st. That by two acts of Parliament (25th and 28th Hen. VIII.) Queen Mary was solemnly bastardized;

2nd. That the act of 1st Mary which established the purity of her birth, bastardized her half sister Elizabeth; and which had also previously been done by her father by stat. 28th Hen. VIII.

3rd. That neither the statute 35th Hen. VIII. (nor that of the 1st Edw. VI. by which its provisions were confirmed) which included the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth in the limitation of the crown, rendered either of them *legitimate*.

4th. That Queen Elizabeth was at the time of her decease, in fact, *a bastard*.

5th. And that according to the existing legislative enactments when James the First ascended the throne, and until the statute was passed which recognized his right to it, a period of about nine months, i. e. from 24 May, 1603, to

March, 1604, that monarch was a *usurper;* and his partizans which indeed included nearly the whole population of the kingdom, *Traitors!*

ERRATA.

p. lxx, l. 27, for "awere," read "aware."
p. lxxiii, l. 25, for "change," read change."
p. lxxvi, l. 16, *dele* the word "too."
p. lxxix, l. 2, for "their," read "the."
p. cvi, line last, for "*Britannia*," read "*Britannica*.
Place the Genealogical Table, p. xxx.

THE REMAINS

OF

LADY JANE GREY.

LETTERS

FROM

LADY JANE GREY,

TO

HENRY BULLINGER;

WITH TRANSLATIONS.

IMORTALES tibi ago gratias agamque dum vivam Vir doctissime! nam relaturam me affirmare non possum, tantis enim tuis officiis non videor mihi respondere posse, nisi forte ita censurus es, ut me referre gratiam putes, cum memoria tenebo. Neque imerito. Accepi enim a te literas gravissime & disertissime scriptas, quæ quidem mihi gratissimæ erant, tum quod rebus gravioribus omissis ad me, quæ tam eruditi viri literis indigna sum, scribere e tam longinqua regione hac tua ingravescente ætate dignatus es, tum etiam quod ejus generis tua scripta sunt, ut non vulgaria quædam ad delectandum sed pia & divina ad docendum, monendum & consulendum, ea præsertim, quæ & meæ ætati & sexui & familiæ nostræ dignitati imprimis conveniunt, continere videantur, in quibus, ut in aliis omnibus, quæ in summam Rempublicæ Christianæ utilitatem ædidisti, non solum te exquisite doctum & sin-

gulari eruditione præditum ostendisti; sed etiam ingeniosum, prudentum & pium consiliarium, qui nihil sapis, nisa bona, nihil sentis, nisi divina, nihil jubes, nisi utilia & nihil paris, nisi honesta, pia & tam observando patre digna. O me felicissimam! cui talis contigit amicus & prudens consiliarus, nam ut Sehlomo habet ברב יועץ ותשועה,[a] quæque jam cum homine tam docto, Theologo tam pio & veræ religionis acerrimo προμαχω necessitudinis & amicitiæ jure conjuncta sum. Multis de nominibus Deo Optimo Maximo me debere puto, & inprimis quod, postquam me pio Bucero viro doctissimo & patre sanctissimo orbasset, qui dies noctesque πυξ και λαξ non destitit mihi, quæ ad vitam instituendam & formandam necessaria essent, suppeditare, quique meum in omni probitate, pietate & literarum scientia cursum & progressus provehebat & suis optimis consiliis adhibitis incitabat: te Vir colendissime! mihi ejus loco concessit, qui ut spero, mihi tardanti, & moram trahenti calcaria, ut cœpisti, addere volueris, nihil enim mihi optatius evenire aut accidere potest, quam ut digna hujus modi clarissimorum virorum, quorum virtutum nullus satis esse possit præco, literis saluberrimisque consiliis ducar, utque idem mihi contingat, quod

[a] Prov. xi. 14, Salus in multitudine consilariorum.

vel Blesillæ, Paulæ & Eustachiæ, quas divus ille, ut fertur, Ieronymus instituit, & suis concionibus habitis ad divinarum rerum cognitionem perduxit, vel quod mulieri illi ætate confectæ, cui divus Jωannes epistolium quoddam hortatorium & vere theologicum conscripsit, vel quod Severi matri, quæ consilio Originis usa est, ejusque monitis acquievit, quæ omnes non tantum sibi laudis & commodi ex corporis forma, generis nobilitate, & divitiarum copia comparaverunt, quantum gloriæ & felicitatis ex prudentissimorum virorum consiliis hauserunt, eo quod non indignabantur homines illi tam singulari eruditione & admirabili pietate conspicui eas quasi manu ad optima quæque ducere & quæ ad salutem æternam & futuræ vitæ felicitatem maximum haberent momentum suggerere. Quod ut tu mihi facere digneris, cum neque ingenio nec eruditione, nec pietate infimus inter eos omnes haberi debeas, iterum atque iterum a te peto. Audacula tibi videar oportet, quæ tam audacter hoc efflagito; sed si consilii mei rationem respicere volueris, nempe quod expietatis tuæ penu ea depromere cupiam, quæ cum ad mores formandos, tum ad fidem in Christo Servatore meo confirmandam conducere queant, hoc quod facio, mihi vitio vertere, nec pro tua humanitate poteris, nec pro tua prudentia volueris. Ex libello illo veræ & non fucatæ religionis pleno.

quem nuper ad patrem & me misisti, tanquam exhorto amœnissimo flores suavissimos quotidie colligo, & pater etiam, dum per gravissima negotia licet, in ejus lectione sedulo versatur, quem autem inde uteque reportabimus fructum de eo tibi & Deo propter te immortales gratias agere debemus: Non enim æquum esse putamus, ut per te tuique similes, quos non paucos hac in parte felicissima parit Germania, a Deo Optimo Maximo tot tantaque vere divina dona ingratis accipiamus animis. Solemus enim homines hominibus, ut par est, beneficiis beneficia compensare, & donorum, collatorum memores nos præstare; quanto magis igitur operam navare debemus divinæ bonitati, si non ex omni parte respondere, at saltem lætis animis, quæ confert, amplecti, & ex animo pro illis gratias agere?

Nunc ad laudes, quas mihi tribuunt tuæ literæ, venio, quas ut nec vendicare, ita nullo modo agnoscere debeo; sed quicquid mihi divina bonitas largita est, id omne acceptum illi refero, tanquam mearum rerum omnium, quæ virtutis aliquam speciem habent, authori summo & soli, quem meo nomine roges velim ornatissime Vir! assiduis tuis precibus, ut me in hac parte measque rationes omnes ita moderetur, ut tanta ejus benignitate non indigna reperiar. In animum induxerat illustrissimus pater meus ad tuam

humanitatem scribere pariterque gratias agere pro tuis præclaræ susceptis laboribus & singulari illa humanitate, qua inductus es suo nomini, Quintam Dec. inscribere ejusque auspiciis in lucem ædere; nisi gravissimis regiæ Majestatis negotiis in ultimos Britanniæ fines fuissit avocatus, sed ubi per publicas occupationes vacabit, quam diligentissimé ad te scibere se velle affirmat. Postremo hebraicari jam incipienti mihi, si viam & modum aliquem ostenderis, quem in hoc studiorum cursu tenere maxima cum utilitate debeam, me longe tibi devinctissimam reddideris. Vale totius Ecclesiæ Christianæ summum decus & ornamentum & te diu nobis suæque Ecclesiæ superstitem servet Deus Optimus Maximus.

Tuæ pietati deditissima

JOANNA GRAIA.

[TRANSLATION.]

LEARNED Sir, I give you, as I shall continue to do while I live, unceasing thanks; but cannot engage ever to requite your kindness, since it does not appear, that I possess the ability of making suitable returns for it; unless, indeed, you should be of opinion, that I return a favour while I treasure it in memory. These pro-

fessions of gratitude are not made without cause. I have received from you a profound and eloquent epistle, which has proved highly grateful to me, not only in regard to your condescension in writing from a distant country, and under the pressure of years, to me who am unworthy of your notice; but also because your writings are of no ordinary cast, not calculated merely to amuse, but abound in pious and divine thoughts, fit for instruction, admonition and consolation, and especially suited to my age, sex and rank in life. In this epistle, as in all those which you have published to the edification of the Christian community, you have shewn yourself not only a scholar of singular erudition, but also a skilful, prudent, and pious counsellor, a man who can relish nothing which is not excellent; think nothing which is not divine; enjoin nothing which is not profitable; and do nothing which is not virtuous, pious, and worthy of so venerable a father. O happy me, who am favoured with such a friend, and so wise a counsellor! for as Solomon says ותשועה ברב יועץ,[a] and who am connected by the ties of friendship and intimacy, with so pious a divine, and so intrepid a champion of true religion. On many accounts I con-

[a] In the multitude of counsellors there is safety. Prov. xi. 14.

sider myself indebted to God, the greatest and best of beings, but especially for having, after I was bereaved of the pious Bucer, that most learned man and holy father, who night and day, and to the utmost of his ability, supplied me with all necessary instructions and directions, and by his advice promoted and encouraged my progress in probity, piety, and learning; for having I say, granted me in his place, a man so worthy to be revered as yourself, who, I hope, will continue as you have begun, to spur me on, when I loiter, or am inclined to delay. No better fortune can, indeed, await me, than to be thought worthy of the wise and salutary admonitions of men so renowned, whose virtues, who shall sufficiently eulogize? and to experience the happiness enjoyed by Blesilla, Paula, and Eustachia, to whom the divine Jeronymus imparted instruction, and who were brought by his discourses to a knowledge of sacred truths—or the happiness of the aged lady, to whom the divine John addressed an exhortatory and truly evangelical epistle—or lastly, the happiness of the mother of Severus, who profited by the lessons of Origen and was obedient to his precepts. These worthies were not so much honoured and celebrated for beauty of person, exalted rank, and large possessions, as their glory and happiness were promoted by the

instructions of wise men, who did not disdain, though singularly illustrious for erudition and piety, to conduct them as it were, by the hand, to every thing excellent, and to suggest to their minds such thoughts, as might conduce to their eternal salvation and future felicity. That you, who are not inferior to these wise counsellors in understanding, learning and piety, will condescend to manifest for me a like kindness is my unceasing petition. My unreserved requests may carry with them an appearance of boldness, but when you consider that they originate in a desire of extracting from the storehouse of your piety, instruction for the guidance of my conduct, and for the confirmation of my faith in Christ my Saviour, your goodness cannot, your wisdom will not, allow you to censure them. From the little volume of pure and unsophisticated religion, which you lately sent my father and me, I cull daily, as out of a delightful garden, the sweetest flowers. My father also, as far as the pressure of his occupations allow, is sedulously engaged in the perusal of it. Whatever benefit, however, either of us may derive from the perusal, we are bound to render thanks to you and to God on your account, since it would not be just to receive with ungrateful minds, benefits so numerous and truly divine, conferred by the supremely good and great God,

through the instrumentality of you and men such as you; not a few of whom Germany now sends forth to this glorious work. If it be customary with mankind, as indeed it ought to be, to return favour for favour, and to be mindful of benefits, surely they are more strongly bound to cherish and express the most ardent gratitude for divine favours, though they are unable to make adequate returns.

I now come to that part of your letter which contains a panegyric on myself. Your praises, as I cannot claim, so also, I ought not to allow. Such of my actions as bear the characteristics of virtue, I must ascribe solely to that great Being who is the author of all my natural endowments. To Him, O worthy man! may your prayers be continually directed on my behalf. May He so direct my thoughts, that I may be found not unworthy of his great goodness. My noble father would have written, both to thank you for the important services in which you are engaged, and also for your singular politeness in inscribing with his name and publishing under his auspices, your tenth decade, had not weighty business of his majesty the King called him to the remotest parts of Britain: but as soon as public affairs afford him leisure, he is determined on writing to you.

To conclude, as I am now beginning to study Hebrew, if you can point out the way in which I may proceed in this pursuit to the greatest advantage, you will confer on me a great obligation.

Farewell, bright ornament and grace of the Christian Church. May the supremely great and good God, long preserve you for us, and his people. Your most devoted,

JANE GRAY.

FACERE non possum, ni nimis ingrata, officii immemor & beneficiis tuis indigna videri velim, Vir ornatissime! quin in singulas res meritaque tua, quæ plurima fuerunt, gratias tibi ingentes agam. Quanquam me hercule & id cum pudore facio, neque enim tanta necessitudo, quantam tu mihi tecum esse voluisti, neque tot beneficia a te in me his prorsus indignam collata, tantumodo gratiarum actionem videntur, desiderare, neque ego lubenter pro maximis tuis beneficiis tam vili orationis munere defungor. Hoc etiam non nihil angit animum meum, cum ad literas, quas tanto viro darem excogitandas, quam parum idonea sim, jam mecum perpendo. Neque certe meis næniis puerilibusque nugis tuam gravitatem perturbare, aut tanta barbarie tuæ eloquentiæ obstrepere vellem aut auderem, nisi & nullo me

alio modo tibi gratificari posse scirem, & de tua solita satisque perspecta mihi humanitate haud dubitarem. De literis autem, quas proxime abs te accepi, sic habeto. Posteaquam semel atque iterum (nam semel non videbatur satis) eas legissem, tantum fructus reportasse ex tuis præclaris & vere theoligicis præceptis visa sum, quantam ex diuturna optimorum autorum lectione vix eram assequuta. Suades ut veram sinceramque in Christo Servatore meo fidem amplectar. Tibi hac in parte οσον ο θεος δωσει, enitar satisfacere, sed donum Dei agnosco eam esse, & proinde tantum polliceri debeo, quantam Dominus impertierit. Neque tamen cum Apostolis orare desistam, ut eam mihi sua benignitate indies augere velit. Huic etiam eam Deo juvante, ut jubes, adjungam vitæ puritatem, quam meæ heu nimium infirmæ vires præstare poterunt. Tu interea pro tua pietate in oratione tua mei quotidie facias mentionem rogo. Ad Hebraicæ linguæ studium eam ingrediar viam, quam tu fidelissime monstras. Vale & Deus te in hac suscepta a te provincia tueatur & provehat æternum.

Tibi ad omnia pietatis officia
paratissima

1552. JωANNA GRAIA.

[TRANSLATION.]

ACCOMPLISHED MAN! I cannot do otherwise than thank you for your many acts of kindness to me. Were I to neglect this duty, I should be chargeable with the greatest ingratitude, and might seem forgetful of your goodness and unworthy of your favours. However, I engage in the task with diffidence, for the friendship which you desire to exist between us, and the many favours which you have conferred on me, demand some better return than mere thanks: and I cannot, to the satisfaction of my own mind, discharge by my vain words, the debt of gratitude which I owe you. Moreover, when I direct my thoughts to addressing a letter to a person of your eminence, the consideration of my unfitness for the office not a little disquiets my mind. Nor, indeed, should I wish or presume to trouble your gravity with my trifles and puerilities, or blend my barbarisms with your eloquence, were I not persuaded that I have no other means of gratifying you, and had I not largely experienced your courtesy.

With respect to the letter I have lately received from you—after I had read it once and again (for one perusal seemed insufficient), I appeared to derive such benefit from your excellent and

truly divine precepts, as I have scarcely obtained from a daily perusal of the best writers. You exhort me to cherish a genuine and sincere faith in Christ my Saviour. I shall endeavour to comply with the exhortation as fully as God may enable me to do; but as I perceive faith to be his gift, I cannot promise more than he may enable me to perform. However, I shall not cease, with the Apostle, to pray, that God will of his goodness, increase my faith daily. To faith I shall, as you recommend, and with the divine blessing, add holiness of life—that measure of it, at least, which my too feeble powers may enable me to produce. Do you, in the mean time, in the spirit of piety, make daily mention of me in your prayers. I shall engage in that method of studying the Hebrew, which you have so clearly pointed out. Farewell! may God regard you in the task you have undertaken, and prosper you eternally.

Your most religiously obedient,

JANE GRAY.

SERA officii recordatio reprehendi non debet, præsertim si nulla negligentia prætermissa est, Vir doctissime! Longe enim absum, pauci sunt tabellarii, audio autem sero; sed jam cum eum

habeam γραμματοφορον, cujus opera & meæ Tibi, & tuæ mihi trada solent litteræ, officio meo deesse non debui, quin ad te scribendo & verbis optarem optime & re haberem gratiam, quam diligentissime. Tanta enim tua apud omnes authoritas, tanta in prædicando, ut audio, gravitas, tantaque, ut, qui te norunt, referre solent, vitæ integritas, ut tuis non solummodo dictis, sed etiam vitæ moribus, tam peregrinæ & exteræ nationes, quam etiam ea, quam ipse incolis, patria, magis ad bene beateque vivendum incitentur. Non enim tantummodo, ut Jacobus habet, Evangelii & sacrorum Dei mandatorum ebuccinator & prædicator diligens, sed ejus etiam effector & operator verus es, eaque vita præstas, que verbis imperas, minime Temetipsum fallens. Nec equidem his similis es, qui externam suam faciem in speculo considerant, & quamprimum discesserint, qualis ejus forma fuerit, oblivioni tradunt; sed & vera & sincera prædicas, & vivendi ratione aliis, ut id sequantur, quod & jubes & facis, exemplo & παραδειμαλι es. Sed quid hæc ad tuam gravitatem scribo, cum tanta mea barbaries sit, ut nec digne tuam pietatem laudare, nec satis vitæ integritatem encomiis celebrare, nec prout convenit, suspiciendam & admirandam doctrinam enarrare possit? Opus enim esset, ut, si prout veritas postulat, Te collaudarem, Demosthenis

vel facundiam, vel Ciceronis eloquentiam haberem, tanta enim tua sunt merita, ut, cum & tempus satis longum, tum etiam ingenii acumen & sermonis elegantiam plus quam puerilem ad ea explicanda desiderent. Tantum enim in te sibi, ut apparet, placuit Deus, ut & te suo regno & huic mundo adaptaverit, in hoc enim terreno vitæ ergastulo ætatis cursum transigis, quasi mortuus esses, cum tamem vivis, idque non solum, primum Christo, sine quo nulla vita esse potest & deinde tibi, sed etiam infinitis aliis, quos ut ad eam immortalitatem, quam ipse assecuturus es, posteaquam ex hac vita migraveris, diis volentibus perducas, strenue laboras & assidue conaris, utque id tua pietas effectum reddat, quod cupit, Deum παντοκρατορα omnium rerum bonarum largitorem precari non cessabo, ejusque divinas aures, ut diu in hac vita superstes sis, pulsare non desinam. Hæc ad te audacius, quam prudentius scripsi, sed tua in me beneficia tanta extiterunt, qui ad me tibi incognitam scribere & quæ ad animum ornandum & mentem expoliendam necessaria essent, suppeditare dignatus es, merito negligentiæ incusari & officii oblita videri possem, si omnimodo me tui tuorumque meritorum memorem haud præberem. Magnaque præterea mihi spes est, te huic mea plusquam muliebri audaciæ, quæ virgo ad virum, & indocta ad eru-

ditionis patrem scribere audeam, ignoscere, & meæ barbariei, quæ te gravioribus rebus occupatum meis tricis, næniis, & puerilibus literis perturbare non dubitem, veniam dare velle; quodsi a te impetravero, me multis nominibus tuæ pietati debere plurimum existimabo. Si quid enim hac in parte peccatum fuerit, mei erga te tuasque virtutes amoris abundantiæ potius tribuendum est, quam vel audaciæ, quæ in nostram sexum nullo modo cadere debet, vel temeritati, quæ τῆ τῆς πίστεως δυναμει valde adversari solet, splendor siquidem tuarum dotum ita mentis meæ aciem, vel cum tua lego, vel cum de te cogito, perstringit, ut non, quid meæ conveniat conditioni, sed quid tuæ debeatur dignitati, in mentis meæ cognitionem veniat. Cæterum hic fluctuare animus solet, atque in diversas distrahi partes, dum quid mea ætas, sexus & in literis mediocritas, imo infantia potius postulat, mecum considero, quæ cum singula, tum universa multo magis a scribendi officio deterrent. Contra autem, cum tuarum virtutum præstantiam, famæ tuæ celebritatem & meritorum tuorum erga me magnitudinem intueor, superior inferiori cogitatio cedit, τὸ πίπτον με dignitati tuæ: & plus apud me, quod tua postulant merita, quam quod alia suadent omnia, valere solet. Reliquum autem est, Vir clarissime! ut vehementer a te petam, meo

nomine viro illi inclito & eruditione, pietate gravitateque antesignano nomine Bibliandro, mihi tamen incognito, salutem ex animo dicere. Tantam enim ejus in nostra patria eruditionis famam audio, tamque illustre ejus nomen apud omnes, ob singulares animi dotes a Deo illi concessas esse accipio, ut nolens volens hujusmodi viri cælitus, nisi fallor, nobis emissi, pietatem sinceritatemque amplecti quæ paululum cognitionis ipsa consequuta sum, cogar & ut diu hujusmodi Ecclesiæ columnæ, qualis vos estis, prospera sint valetudine Deum precor. Tuæ autem gravitati bene optare, ob humanitatem mihi ostensam gratias agere & multem valere jubere, quamdiu spirare licuerit, non desinam. Vale vir doctissime

Tuæ pietati deditissima

1553. JOANNA GRAIA.

[TRANSLATION.]

THE late observance of a duty ought not, Learned Sir, to be censured, when not omitted through neglect. The truth is, I am far removed from you, the letter carriers are few, and news reaches me slowly. As I can now, however, avail myself of the messenger, by whom my letters to you,

and yours to me, have been hitherto conveyed, I must not neglect writing to you, but must, both in word and deed, discharge an obligation as speedily as possible.

So great, indeed, is your authority with all men, such, as I hear, the solidity of your preaching, and such the integrity of your life, according to the report of those who are acquainted with you, that foreign and remote people, as well as your own countrymen, are by your actions, not less than by your words, incited to follow a good and happy life. For you are not only, as James says, a diligent preacher and herald of the gospel and of the sacred laws of God, but also a genuine observer and doer of them; and you exhibit, in your own life that practice which your precepts enjoin, not deceiving yourself. Nor, indeed, do you resemble the persons who behold their face in a glass, and as soon as they have departed, forget the form of it, but you preach truth and sincerity, and afford an example of that course, which you enjoin others to follow. But why do I thus accost your gravity, when such is my want of refinement, that I cannot adequately celebrate your piety and integrity, or in a becoming manner, display your admirable doctrine. Were I, indeed, to praise you as truth requires, I should need the eloquence of Demosthenes and Cicero. Such are

your merits, that to declare them, length of time, acuteness of understanding, and elegance of language beyond that which so young a person can display, are necessary. God appears to have so fitted you, both for his kingdom, and this world, that in this earthly prison you pass your days, as dead to the world; nevertheless you live, not only to Christ, without whom there can be no life, and to yourself, but also to many others, whom you strenuously labour and assiduously endeavour with the divine will, to bring to that immortality which yourself will obtain, when you quit this life. That your piety may render your wishes effectual, is my unceasing prayer to God, the supreme ruler of the universe, and the giver of all good things; whose ears I constantly importune for your long continuance in this life.

In accosting you in this way, I may display more boldness than prudence; but so great has been your condescension in writing to me, a stranger, and in supplying me with instruction for the culture and adorning of my mind, that I should deservedly appear chargeable with neglect and forgetfulness of duty, did I not, to the utmost of my endeavours, treasure up the remembrance of your benefits. Besides, I cherish the hope that you will pardon the more than feminine

boldness of an untaught virgin, who presumes to write to a man, and one too who is a father in learning; and that you will overlook that rudeness which has not hesitated to interrupt your graver pursuits with nonsensical trifles and puerilities. Let me but obtain your pardon, and I shall consider myself much indebted to your goodness on many accounts. If I have, indeed, offended by this measure, ascribe rather to my exceeding love of you and of your virtues, than to boldness, which ought never to exist in our sex, or to rashness, which obtrudes itself with a saw like power. The splendour of your endowments so dazzles my mental perception, whether I read your writings or contemplate your character, that my thoughts are occupied in considering, not the behaviour becoming my condition, but the tribute due to your excellence. My mind, indeed, fluctuates and forms different determinations. When I consider my age, sex, moderate attainments in literature, and I may add, my infancy, I am deterred from writing; but when I consider the eminence of your virtues, the celebrity of your character, and the magnitude of your favours towards me, the first consideration yields to the last—the behaviour becoming me, to the tribute due to you; the respect which your merits demand, prevails over all other considerations.

It only remains for me earnestly to beseech you, illustrious Sir, cordially to salute in my name, the excellent Bibliander, that pattern of learning, piety, and seriousness, though he is personally unknown to me. So excellent is the character which he bears in my own country, and so celebrated his name with all people, that I am irresistibly led to seek an acquaintance with a man of such piety and integrity, a man sent us, if I am not deceived, from heaven. I am also urged to pray, that as pillars of the Church you may enjoy good health. As long as I shall be permitted to live, I shall not cease to be your well-wisher, to thank you for your favours, and to pray for your welfare.

Farewell, Learned Sir,

Your most religiously obedient,

1553. JANE GREY.

AN EPISTLE FROM THE LADY JANE GREY TO A NOBLE FRIEND OF HER'S NEWLY FALLEN FROM THE TRUTH.

So oft as I call to mind (dear friend and chosen Brother) the dreadful and fearful sayings of God, that he which layeth hold upon the plough and looketh back again, is not meet for the kingdom of heaven; and on the other side to remember the comfortable words of our Saviour Christ, to all those that forsaking themselves do follow him, I cannot but marvel at thee and lament thy case; that thou, which sometimes wert the lively member of Christ, but now the deformed imp of the devil; sometimes the beautiful temple of God, but now the stinking and filthy kennel of Satan; sometimes the unspotted spouse of thy Saviour, but now the unshamefast paramour of Antichrist; sometimes my faithful brother, but now a stranger and apostate; yea sometimes my stout christian soldier, but now a cowardly runaway. So oft as I consider the threatenings and promises of the Divine Justice to all those which faithfully love him, I cannot but speak to thee, yea, rather cry out and exclaim against thee, thou seed of Satan, and not of Juda, whom the devil hath deceived, the world hath beguiled, and desire of life hath subverted, and made of a christian an infidel.

Wherefore hast thou taken upon thee the Testament of the Lord in thy mouth? wherefore hast thou hitherto yielded thy body to the fire, and to the bloody hands of cruel tyrants? wherefore hast thou instructed others to be strong in Christ, when thou thyself dost now so horribly abuse the testament and law of the Lord; when thou thyself, preachest (as it were not to steal) yet most abominably stealest, not from men but from God, and as a most heinous sacrilegious robber, robbest Christ thy redeemer of his right in his members, thy body and thy soul; when thou thyself dost rather choose to live miserably (with shame) in this world, than to die gloriously and reign in honour with Christ, to the end of all eternity, in whom even in death there is life beyond wish, beyond all expression; and when, I say, thou thyself art most weak, thou oughtest to show thyself most strong, for the strength of a fort is known before the assault, but thou yieldest (like a faint captain) thy hold before any battery be brought against thee.

Oh wretched and unhappy man what art thou but dust and ashes, and wilt thou resist thy maker, that formed and fashioned thee: wilt thou now forsake him that called thee from custom-gathering among the Romish Antichristians, to be an ambassador and messenger of his eternal

word; he that first framed thee, and since thy creation and birth preserved thee, nourished thee, and kept thee, yea, and inspired thee with the spirit of knowledge (I cannot, I would I could say of grace) shall he not possess thee, darest thou deliver up thy self to another, being not thine own but his? How canst thou, having knowledge, or how darest thou neglect the law of the Lord, and follow the vain traditions of men? and whereas thou hast been a public professor of his name, become now a defacer of his glory. I will not refuse the true God, and worship the invention of man, the golden calf, the whore of Babylon, the Romish religion, the abominable idol, the most wicked mass: wilt thou torment again, rent and tear the most precious body of our Saviour Christ with thy bodily and fleshly teeth without the breaking whereof upon the cross, our sins and transgressions, could else no way be redeemed? wilt thou take upon thee to offer up any sacrifice unto God for our sins, considering that Christ offered up himself (as St. Paul saith) upon the Cross, a lively sacrifice once for all.

Can neither the punishment of the Israelites (which for their idolatry so oft they received) move thee; neither the terrible threatenings of the ancient prophets stir thee, nor the crosses of God's own mouth fear thee to honour any other

God than him? wilt thou so regard him that spared not his dear and only son for thee, so diminishing, yea, utterly extinguishing his glory, that thou wilt attribute the praise and honour to idols, which have mouths and speak not, eyes and see not, ears and yet hear not, which shall perish with them that made them: what saith the prophet Baruck, where he reciteth the epistle of Jeremy, written to the captive Jews? did he not forewarn them that in Babylon they should see gods of gold, silver, wood, and stone, borne upon men's shoulders to cause a fear upon the heathen? but be not you afraid of them (saith Jeremy) nor do as others do: but when you see others worship them, say you in your hearts, it is thou (O Lord) that oughtest only to be worshipped: for as touching the timber of those gods the carpenter framed them and polished them, yea guilded they be and laid over with silver and vain things and cannot speak: he sheweth moreover, the abuse of their deckings how the priests took off their ornaments, and apparelled there women therewithal: how one holdeth a sceptre, another a sword in his hand, and yet can they judge in no matter, nor defend themselves, much less any other, from either hatred or murder, nor yet from knawing worms, dust, filth, or any other evil thing; these and such like words speaketh Jeremy unto them, whereby

he proveth them but vain things, and no gods, and at last he concludeth thus; confounded be those that worship them.

They were warned by Jeremy, and thou as Jeremy hast warned others, and art warned thyself by many Scriptures in many places.

God, saith he, is a jealous God, which will have all honour, glory, and worship given to him only. And Christ saith in the fourth of Luke, to satan which tempted him, even to the same satan, the same Belzebub, the same devil which hath prevailed against thee: it is written (saith he) thou shalt honour the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve.

These and such like do prohibit thee, and all Christians to worship any other God than he which was before all worlds, and laid the foundations both of heaven and earth, and wilt thou honour a detestable idol invented by the Popes of Rome, and the uncharitable college of politic Cardinals?

Christ offered up himself once for all, and wilt thou offer him up again daily at thy pleasure? but thou wilt say thou doest it for a good intent: Oh sink of sin! Oh child of perdition! canst thou dream of any good intent therein, when thy conscience beareth thee witness of the wrath of God promised against thee?

How did Saul, who for that he disobeyed the

word of God for a good intent, was thrown from his wordly and temporal kingdom: shalt thou then which dost so deface God's honour and rob him of his right, inherit the eternal heavenly kingdom? wilt thou for a good intent pluck Christ out of heaven, and make his death void, and deface the triumph of his cross, offering him up daily? wilt thou either for fear of death, or hope of life, deny and refuse thy God, who enriched thy poverty? healed thy infirmity, and yielded to this victory if thou wouldst have kept it? dost thou not consider that the thread of life hangeth upon him that made thee, who can (as his will is) either twine it hard to last the longer, or untwine it again to break the sooner? Dost thou not remember the saying of David, a notable king, which teacheth thee, a miserable wretch, in his civ Psalm, where he saith, When thou takest away thy spirit, O Lord, from men, they die, and are turned again to their dust, but when thou lettest thy breath go forth, they shall be made, and thou shalt renew the face of the earth.

Remember the saying of Christ in his Gospel, whosoever seeketh to save his life shall lose it, but whosoever will lose it for my sake shall find it; and in another place, whosoever loveth father or mother above me, is not meet for me, for he that will be my disciple, must forsake father and

mother, and himself, and take up his cross and follow me: what cross? the cross of infamy and shame, of misery and poverty, of affliction and persecution, for his name sake.

Let the oft falling of those heavenly showers pierce thy stony heart; let the two-edged sword of God's holy word hew asunder the knit-together sinews of worldly respects, even to the very marrow and life blood of thy carnal heart, that thou mayst once again forsake thyself to embrace Christ, and like as good subjects will not refuse to hazard all in the defence of their earthly and temporal governors, so fly not like a white livered milk-sop from the standard, whereby thy chief Captain, Christ, hath placed thee in a noble array of this life; viriliter ago confortetur cor tuum et sustine dominum, fight manfully, come life, come death, the quarrel is God's, and undoubtedly the victory is ours.

But thou wilt say, I will not break unity; what? not the unity of satan and his members, not the unity of darkness, the agreement of antichrist and his adherents? nay, then thou deceives thyself with fond imaginations of such an unity as is amongst the enemies of Christ: were not the false prophets in an unity? were not Joseph's brethren, Jacob's sons, in an unity? were not the heathen as the Amelechites, the Peresites and

Jebusites in an unity? I keep no order but look rather to my matter: were not the Scribes and Pharisees in an unity? doth not King David testify, conveniunt in unum adversus Dominum, yea, thieves and murderers, conspirators and traitors have their unity.

Mark my dear friend (yea friend if thou beest not God's enemy,) there is no unity but when Christ knitteth the knot amongst such as be his, yea, be you well assured that where his truth is resident, there it is verified, that he saith, Non veni mittere pacem in terram sed gladium, that is, Christ came to set one against another; the son against the father, the daughter against the mother: deceive not thyself therefore with the glistering and glorious name of unity, for antichrist hath his unity, yet not in deed, but in name, for the agreement of evil men is not an unity, but a conspiracy.

Thou hast heard some threatenings, some curses, and some admonishments of the Scriptures, to those who love themselves above Christ.

Thou hast heard also the sharp and biting words to those which deny him for love of life, saith he not, that he which denieth me before men, I will deny him before my father which is in heaven: and to the same effect writeth St. Paul in the vi. to the Hebrews, saying, it is impossible that

they which have been once lightened, and have tasted of the heavenly gift of grace, and been made partakers of the Holy Ghost, and have relished of the pure word of God, if they fall and slide away, it is impossible that they should be renewed again by repentance, crucifying again to themselves the Son of God, and making him as it were a mocking-stock, or gaude of their fancies. And again, (saith he) if we shall willingly sin after we have received the knowledge of the truth, there is no oblation left for sin, but the terrible expectation of judgment and fire which shall devour the adversaries. Thus St. Paul writeth, and thus thou readest, and dost thou not quake and tremble? well, if these terrible and thundering alarums cannot stir thee to arise and cleave unto Christ, and forsake the world, yet let the sweet consolations and promises of the Scriptures: let the examples of Christ and his Apostles, both Martyrs and Confessors, encourage thee to take faster hold by Christ. Hearken what he saith again in his holy Gospel; blessed are you when men revile you, and persecute you for my sake, rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven, for so persecuted they the Prophets before you.

Hear what Esau saith: fear not the curse of men, be not afraid of their blasphemies and railings, for worms and moths shall eat them up like

cloth and wool, but my righteousness shall endure for ever, and my saving health from generation to generation: what art thou then (saith he) that fearest a mortal man, the child of a man, which fadeth away as doth the flower, and forgettest the Lord that made thee, that spread out the heavens like a curtain, and laid the foundations of the earth so sure, that they cannot be removed: I am the Lord thy God, which maketh the sea to rage, and to be still, who is the Lord of hosts; I shall put my word in thy mouth, and defend thee with the turning of a hand. And our Saviour Christ saith to his disciples, they shall accuse you, and bring you before the princes and rulers for my name sake, and some of you they shall persecute and kill: but fear you not (saith he) neither care you not what you shall say, for it is my spirit that speaketh in you, the hand of the highest shall defend you, for the hairs of your heads are numbered, and none of them shall perish. I have laid up treasure for you (saith he) where no thief can steal, nor moth corrupt, and happy are you if you endure to the end. Fear not them (saith Christ) which have power over the body only, but fear him that hath power both over the body and the soul; the world loveth her own, and if you were of the world the world would love you, but you are mine, and therefore the world doth hate you.

Let these, and such like consolations out of the Scriptures strengthen you to God-ward; let not the examples of holy men and women go out of your mind, as that of Daniel, and the rest of the prophets; of the three children of Eleazarus, that constant father; the Machabees' children, that of Peter, Paul, Stephen, and other Apostles and holy Martyrs, in the beginning and infancy of the Church; as of good Simeon, Archbishop of Seloma, and Zetrophone, with infinite others, under Sapores the king of the Persians and Indians, who condemned all torments devised by the tyrants for their Saviour's sake.

Return, return again for honour and mercy's sake into the way of Christ Jesus, and as becometh a faithful soldier, put on that armour which St. Paul teacheth to be most necessary for a Christian man, and above all things take to you the shield of faith.

And be you most devoutly provoked by Christ's own example, to withstand the devil, to forsake the world, and to become a true and faithful member of his mystical body, who spared not his own flesh for our sins. Throw down thyself with the fear of his threatened vengeance for this so great and heinous offence of apostacy, and comfort yourself on the other part with the mercy, blood, and promises of him that is ready to turn to you when-

soever you turn to him: disdain not to come again with the lost son, seeing you have so wandered with him: be not ashamed to turn again with him from the swill of strangers, to the delicates of the most benign and loving father, acknowledging that you have sinned against heaven and earth; against heaven by staining his glorious name, and causing his most sincere and pure word to be evil spoken of through you; against earth by offending your so many weak brethren to whom you have been a stumbling block through your sudden sliding.

Be not ashamed to come again with Mary, and to weep bitterly with Peter, not only with shedding of tears out of your bodily eyes, but also pouring out the streams of your heart, to wash away, out of the sight of God, the filth and mire of your offensive fall; be not ashamed to say with the publican, Lord be merciful unto me a sinner: remember the horrible history of Julian of old, and the lamentable case of Francis Spira of late, whose remembrance me thinketh should be yet so green to your memory, that being a thing of our time, you should fear the like inconvenience, seeing that you are fallen into the like offence. Last of all, let the lively remembrance of the last day be always before your eyes, remembering the terror that such shall be in at that time, with the runagates and fugitives from Christ, which setting more

by the world than by heaven, more by their life, than by him that gave them their life, more by the vanity of a painful breath, than the perfect assurance of eternal salvation, did shrink; yea, did clean fall away from him that never forsook them. And contrariwise, the inestimable joys prepared for them which feared no peril, nor dreading death, have manfully fought, and victoriously triumphed over all power of darkness; over hell, death, and damnation, through their most redoubted captain JESUS CHRIST our Saviour, who even now stretcheth out his arms to receive you, ready to fall upon your neck, and kiss you: and last of all, to feast you with the dainties and delicates of his own most precious blood, which undoubtedly, if it might stand with his determinate purpose, he would not let to shed again, rather than you should be lost; to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honour, praise, and glory everlastingly. Amen.

Your's, if you be Christ's,

JANE GREY.

Postscript.

Be constant, be constant, fear not for pain,
Christ hath deliver'd thee, and heav'n is thy gain.

J. G.

A CONFERENCE, DIALOGUE-WISE, HELD BETWEEN THE LADY JANE DUDLEY AND M. FECKENHAM, FOUR DAYS BEFORE HER DEATH, TOUCHING HER FAITH AND RELIGION.

FECKENHAM. What thing is required in a Christian?

JANE. To believe in God the Father, in God the Son, in God the Holy Ghost, three persons and one God.

FECKENHAM. Is there nothing else required in a Christian, but to believe in God?

JANE. Yes: We must believe in him, we must love him, with all our heart, with all our soul, and all our mind, and our neighbour as ourself.

FECKENHAM. Why then faith justifieth not, nor saveth not?

JANE. Yes, verily, faith (as St. Paul saith) only justifieth.

FECKENHAM. Why St. Paul saith, if I have all the faith of the world, without love, it is nothing.

JANE. True it is, for how can I love him I trust not, or how can I trust in him whom I love not; faith and love ever agree together, and yet love is comprehended in faith.

FECKENHAM. How shall we love our neighbour?

JANE. To love our neighbour, is to feed the

hungry, clothe the naked, and to give drink to the thirsty, and to do to him as we would do to ourselves.

FECKENHAM. Why, then it is necessary to salvation to do good works, and it is not sufficient to believe?

JANE. I deny that, I affirm that faith only saveth; for it is meet for all Christians, in token that they follow their master Christ, to do good works; yet may we not say, nor in any wise believe, that they profit to salvation: for although we have done all that we can, yet we are unprofitable servants, and the faith we have only in Christ's blood and his merits, saveth.

FECKENHAM. How many Sacraments are there?

JANE. TWO: the one the Sacrament of Baptism, and the other the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

FECKENHAM. No, there be seven Sacraments.

JANE. By what Scripture find you that?

FECKENHAM. Well, we will talk of that hereafter: but what is signified by your two sacraments?

JANE. By the Sacrament of Baptism I am washed with water, and regenerated in the spirit, and that washing is a token to me that I am the child of God: the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper is offered unto me as a sure seal and testimony, that I am, by the blood of Christ which he shed

for me on the cross, made partaker of the everlasting kingdom.

FECKENHAM. Why, what do you receive in that bread: do you not receive the very body and blood of Christ?

JANE. No, surely, I do not believe so: I think at that supper I receive neither flesh nor blood, but only bread and wine; the which bread when it is broken, and the wine when it is drunk, putteth me in mind how that for my sins the body of Christ was broken, and his blood shed on the cross, and with that bread and wine I receive the benefits which came by breaking of his body, and by the shedding of his blood on the cross for my sins.

FECKENHAM. Why but, madam, doth not Christ speak these words: take eat, this is my body: can you require any plainer words: doth he not say, that it is his body?

JANE. I grant he saith so; and so he saith likewise in other places, I am the vine, I am the door, it being only but a figurative speech: doth not St. Paul say that he calleth those things which are not as though they were? God forbid, that I should say that I eat the very natural body and blood of Christ: for then either I should pluck away my redemption, or confess there were two bodies, or two Christ's: two bodies, the one body

was tormented on the cross, and then if they did eat another body, how absurd: again, if his body was eaten really, then it was not broken upon the cross, or if it were broken upon the cross (as it is doubtless) then it was not eaten of his disciples.

FECKENHAM. Why, is it not as possible that Christ by his power could make his body both to be eaten and broken, as to be born of a woman without the seed of man, and as to walk on the sea having a body, and other such like miracles, which he wrought by his power only?

JANE. Yes, verily, if God would have done at his last supper a miracle, he might have done so: but I say he minded nor intended no work or miracle, but only to break his body, and shed his blood on the cross for our sins: but I beseech you answer me to this one question; where was Christ when he said, take, eat, this is my body: was not he at the table? when he said so he was at that time alive, and suffered not till the next day; well, what took he but bread? and what broke he but bread? and what gave he but bread? look what he took he brake, and look what he brake he gave, and look what he gave that did they eat, and yet all this while he himself was at supper before his disciples, or else they were deceived.

FECKENHAM. You ground your faith upon such authors as say and unsay, both with a breath, and not upon the church, to whom you ought to give credit.

JANE. No, I ground my faith upon God's word, and not upon the church: for if the church be a good church, the faith of the church must be tried by God's word, and not God's word by the church: neither yet my faith: shall I believe the church because of antiquity? or shall I give credit to that church which taketh away from me a full half part of the Lord's Supper, and will not lay-man receive it in both kinds, but the priests only themselves, which thing if they deny to us part, they deny us part of our salvation? and I say, that it is an evil and no good church, and not the spouse of Christ, but the spouse of the devil, which altereth the Lord's Supper, and both taketh from it, and addeth to it: to that church I say God will add plagues, and from that church will he take their part out of the Book of Life: you may learn of St. Paul, how he did administer it to the Corinthians in both kinds, which since your church refuseth, shall I believe it? God forbid!

FECKENHAM. That this was done by the wisdom of the church, and to a most good intent to avoid an heresy, which then sprung in it.

JANE. O, but the church must not alter God's will and ordinances, for the colour or gloss of a good intent: it was the error of King Saul, and he not only reaped a curse, but perished thereby, as it is evident in the Holy Scriptures.

To this M. Feckenham gave me a long, tedious, yet eloquent reply; using many strong and logical persuasions, to compel me to have leaned to their church: but my faith had armed my resolution to withstand any assault that words could then use against me. Of many other articles of religion we reasoned, but these formerly rehearsed were the chiefest and most effectual.

JANE DUDLEY.

AN EXHORTATION WRITTEN BY LADY JANE DUDLEY, THE NIGHT BEFORE HER EXECUTION, IN THE END OF THE NEW TESTAMENT, IN GREEK, WHICH SHE SENT TO HER SISTER, THE LADY KATHERINE GREY.

I HAVE here sent you, my dear sister Katherine, a book, which although it be not outwardly trimmed with gold, or the curious embroidery of the artfulest needles, yet inwardly it is more worth than all the precious mines which the vast world can boast of: it is the book, my only best, and best loved sister, of the law of the Lord: it is the Testament and last will, which he bequeathed unto us wretches and wretched sinners, which shall lead you to the path of eternal joy: and if you with a good mind read it, and with an earnest desire follow it, no doubt it shall bring you to an immortal and everlasting life: it will teach you to live, and learn you to die: it shall win you more, and endow you with greater felicity, than you should have gained possession of our woeful father's lands: for as if God had prospered him, you should have inherited his honours and manors, so if you apply diligently this book, seeking to direct your life according to the rule of the same, you shall be an inheritor of such riches, as neither the covetous shall withdraw from you, neither the thief shall steal, neither yet the moths corrupt: desire with

David, my best sister, to understand the law of the Lord your God, live still to die, that you by death may purchase eternal life, and trust not that the tenderness of your age shall lengthen your life: for unto God, when he calleth, all hours, times and seasons are alike, and blessed are they whose lamps are furnished when he cometh, for as soon will the Lord be glorified in the young as in the old.

My good sister, once more again let me entreat thee to learn to die; deny the world, defy the devil, and despise the flesh, and delight yourself only in the Lord: be penitent for your sins, and yet despair not; be strong in faith, yet presume not; and desire with St. Paul to be dissolved and to be with Christ, with whom, even in death there is life.

Be like the good servant, and even at midnight be waking, lest when death cometh and stealeth upon you, like a thief in the night, you be with the servants of darkness found sleeping; and lest for lack of oil you be found like the five foolish virgins, or like him that had not on the wedding garment, and then you be cast into darkness, or banished from the marriage: rejoice in Christ, as I trust you do, and seeing you have the name of a christian, as near as you can follow the steps, and be a true imitator of your master

Christ Jesus, and take up your cross, lay your sins on his back, and always embrace him.

Now as touching my death, rejoice as I do, my dearest sister, that I shall be delivered of this corruption, and put on incorruption: for I am assured that I shall, for losing of a mortal life, win one that is immortal, joyful, and everlasting: the which I pray God grant you in his most blessed hour, and send you his all-saving grace to live in his fear, and to die in the true christian faith: from which in God's name I exhort you that you never swerve, neither through hope of life, nor fear of death: for if you will deny his truth, to give length to a weary and corrupt breath, God himself will deny you, and by vengeance make short what you by your soul's loss would prolong: but if you will cleave to him, he will stretch forth your days to an uncircumscribed comfort, and to his own glory: to the which glory, God bring me now, and you hereafter, when it shall please him to call you. Farewell once again, my beloved sister, and put your only trust in God, who only must help you. Amen.

Your loving Sister.

JANE DUDLEY.

ANOTHER COPY OF THIS LETTER HAS LATELY BEEN PRINTED,[a] TAKEN FROM THE BLANK PAGES OF A MANUSCRIPT ON VELLUM, PRESERVED IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM,[b] CONTAINING AN ESSAY BY ALBERTUS CASTELLANUS, "DE ARTE MORIENDI;" AND AS THAT TRANSCRIPT DIFFERS IN A SLIGHT DEGREE FROM THE PRECEDING, ITS INSERTION APPEARS DESIRABLE.

"This exhortacyon was writen by Lady Jane Dudley to her sister Katherine ye night bifo she suffred:

"I haue sent yō good sustr K. a boke wh although it be not outwardly rimid with gold, yet inwardly it is most worth then p̃cyous stones. It is the boke, dere sistr, of the laws of the Lord; it is his testament and last will, wch he bequeathed unto us wretches, wch shall lead yō to the path of eternall joye, and yf yō wth a good mīde reade it, and with an earnest dissyre folow it, shall bring you to an imortale and everlasting lyfe. It wyll teach yō to lyve, and learne yō to dey: it shall wyne yō more then yō sholde haue gayned by the possessyon of yor wofull fathres lands, for as

[a] *Lady Jane Grey and her Times*, p. 372.

[b] Harl. MSS. 2370.

if god had p̃spered him, yō shold haue inherited his lands, so if yō aply diligẽtly yo^r boke, trying to directe yo^r lyfe aft^r it; yō shalbe an inheritor of such riches as nither the covetous shall withdrawe from you, neyther the thefe shall steale, neither yet y^e mothe corrupte. Dissyre sist^r to understand y^e law of y^e lord yo^r god. Lyve styll to dey, y^t yō by deth may purches eternell lyfe; or after yo^r deth enioye the lyfe purchessed yo^w by Christis death, and trust not y^t y^e tenderness of yo^r age shall lengthen yo^r life: for assone, if god will, goith y^e young as the old; and laboure alway to lerne to dey. Deney y^e world, difey y^e devall, and dispyse y^e flesh. Delite yo^r selfe onely in y^e lord. Be penitent for yo^r syns, and yet despayre not. Be steady in faythe yet p̃sume not, and desyre with S. Pawle to be desolvid and to be with X^t with whom even in death there is lyfe. Be lyke the good servant, and even at midnight be wakyng; least when death comyth and stealythe upon yō lyke a thefe in y^e night yo^u be with the evel servant found slepinge, and least for lacke of oyle ye be found lyk the first foulsh wence, and lyke him

that had not on the wedyng garment and thē be cast out from the marriage. Risyst in ye, as I trust ye do, and seeing ye have y^e^ name of a cristian, as neare as ye can folowe the stepes of yo^r^ master Chst, and take up yo^r^ crosse; lay yo^r^ syns on his backe, and always embrace him; and as towchynge my dethe reioyce as I do, and adsist y^t^ I shalbe delyvred of y^s^ corruption and put on incorruption, for I am assurede y^t^ I shall for losyng of a mortall lyfe finde an imortall felisity. Pray God graunt yō send yō of his grace to lyve in his feare, and to dey in y^e^ love
of ioy to you when the shall arrive, neither for loue of lyfe nor feares of deathe. For if ye deney his truth to leṫhen yur life, God will deney yō and shorten yo^r^ dayes; and if yō will cleaue to him, he will p̃long yo^r^ days to yo^r^ c̃ōfort and his glory, to the wch glory, God beinge minde and yō herafter, when it shall please God to call yō. Farewell good syst^r^ put yo^r^ onely trust in God, who onely must uphold yō yo^r^ loving syst.

JANE DUDLEY"

A LETTER FROM LADY JANE DUDLEY TO HER FATHER, THE DUKE OF SUFFOLK, WRITTEN FROM THE TOWER A FEW WEEKS BEFORE HER DEATH.

This letter is taken from a copy in Harleian MSS. 2194. f. 23.[b] in which it is introduced by the following remark.

This duke's facility, too, by practises, had occasioned the troubles w^th^ w^ch^ this realme had for some yeares beene distractede, and his rash ingratitude (the queene havenge once pardoned him beyond expectation) had diverted the current of the queenes clemency towards his daughter the Lady Jane, whose life (yt was generally conceived) shee would have pardoned, but her father's miscouncelled rashnes hastened her death. A little before w^ch^ shee sent unto him this letter followinge:

Father, although it hath pleased God to hasten my death by you, by whom my life should rather have been lengthened, yet I can so patiently take it, that I yield God more hearty thanks for shortening my woful days, than if all the world had been given into my possession, with life lengthened at my own will. And albeit I am very well assured of your impatient dolours, redoubled many ways, both in bewailing your own woe, and especially, as I am informed, my woful estate: yet my dear father, if I may, without offence, rejoice in my own mishaps, herein I may account myself blessed, that washing my hands with the innocence of my fact, my guiltless blood may cry before the Lord, Mercy to the innocent!

And yet though I must needs acknowledge, that being constrained, and as you know well enough continually assayed, yet in taking upon me, I seemed to consent, and therein greviously offended the queen and her laws, yet do I assuredly trust that this my offence towards God is so much the less, in that being in so royal estate as I was, my enforced honour never mingled with mine innocent heart. And thus, good father, I have opened unto you the state wherein I presently stand, my death at hand, although to you perhaps it may seem woful, yet to me there is nothing that can be more welcome than from this vale of misery to aspire to that heavenly throne of all joy and pleasure, with Christ my Saviour: in whose steadfast faith, (if it may be lawful for the daughter so to write to the father) the Lord that hath hitherto strengthened you, so continue to keep you, that at the last we may meet in heaven with the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

I am,

Your obedient daughter till death,

JANE DUDLEY.

A PRAYER COMPOSED BY LADY JANE DUDLEY SHORTLY BEFORE HER EXECUTION.

O Lord, thou God and father of my life! hear me, poor and desolate woman, which flyeth unto thee only, in all troubles and miseries. Thou, O Lord, art the only defender and deliverer of those that put their trust in thee; and, therefore, I, being defiled with sin, encumbered with affliction, unquieted with troubles, wrapped in cares, overwhelmed with miseries, vexed with temptations, and grievously tormented with the long imprisonment of this vile mass of clay, my sinful body, do come unto thee, O merciful Saviour, craving thy mercy and help, without the which so little hope of deliverance is left, that I may utterly despair of my liberty. Albeit, it is expedient, that seeing our life standeth upon trying, we should be visited some time with some adversity, whereby we might both be tried whether we be of thy flock or no, and also know thee and ourselves the better; yet thou that saidst thou wouldst not suffer us to be tempted above our power, be merciful unto me, now a miserable wretch, I beseech thee; which, with Solomon, do cry unto thee, humbly desiring thee, that I may neither be too much puffed up with prosperity, neither too much depressed with adversity; lest I,

being too full, should deny thee, my God; or being too low brought, should despair and blaspheme thee, my Lord and Saviour. O merciful God, consider my misery, best known unto thee; and be thou now unto me a strong tower of defence, I humbly require thee. Suffer me not to be tempted above my power, but either be thou a deliverer unto me out of this great misery, or else give me grace patiently to bear thy heavy hand and sharp correction. It was thy right hand that delivered the people of Israel out of the hands of Pharaoh, which for the space of four hundred years did oppress them, and keep them in bondage; let it therefore likewise seem good to thy fatherly goodness, to deliver me, sorrowful wretch, for whom thy son Christ shed his precious blood on the cross, out of this miserable captivity and bondage, wherein I am now. How long wilt thou be absent?—for ever? Oh, Lord! hast thou forgotten to be gracious, and hast thou shut up thy loving kindness in displeasure? wilt thou be no more entreated? Is thy mercy clear gone for ever, and thy promise come utterly to an end for evermore? why dost thou make so long tarrying? shall I despair of thy mercy? Oh God! far be that from me; I am thy workmanship, created in Christ Jesus; give me grace therefore to tarry thy leisure, and patiently to bear thy works, assuredly knowing,

that as thou canst, so thou wilt deliver me, when it shall please thee, nothing doubting or mistrusting thy goodness towards me; for thou knowest better what is good for me than I do; therefore do with me in all things what thou wilt, and plague me what way thou wilt. Only, in the mean time, arm me, I beseech thee, with thy armour, that I may stand fast, my loins being girded about with verity, having on the breast-plate of righteousness, and shod with the shoes prepared by the gospel of peace; above all things, taking to me the shield of faith, wherewith I may be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked; and taking the helmet of salvation, and the sword of thy spirit, which is thy most holy word; praying always, with all manner of prayer and supplication, that I may refer myself wholly to thy will, abiding thy pleasure, and comforting myself in those troubles that it shall please thee to send me; seeing such troubles be profitable for me, and seeing I am assuredly persuaded that it cannot but be well all thou doest. Hear me, O merciful Father, for his sake, whom thou wouldest should be a sacrifice for my sins; to whom with thee and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory. Amen!

LADY JANE DUDLEY'S SPEECH ON THE SCAFFOLD.

My lords, and you good christian people, which come to see me die, I am under a law, and by that law, as a never erring judge, I am condemned to die, not for any thing I have offended the Queen's Majesty, for I will wash my hands guiltless thereof, and deliver to my God a soul as pure from such trespass, as innocence from injustice; but only for that I consented to the thing which I was enforced unto, constraint making the law believe I did that which I never understood. Notwithstanding, I have offended Almighty God in that I have followed over-much the lust of mine own flesh, and the pleasures of this wretched world, neither have I lived according to the knowledge that God hath given me, for which cause God hath appointed unto me this kind of death, and that most worthily, according to my deserts; how be it, I thank him heartily that he hath given me time to repent my sins here in this world, and to reconcile myself to my redeemer, whom my former vanities have in a great measure displeased. Wherefore, my lords, and all you good christian people, I must earnestly desire you all to pray with and for me whilst I am yet alive, that God of his infinite goodness and mercy will forgive me my sins, how numberless and grievous soever against him: and

I beseech you all to bear me witness that I here die a true christian woman, professing and avouching from my soul that I trust to be saved by the blood, passion, and merits of Jesus Christ my Saviour only, and by none other means; casting far behind me all the works and merits of mine own actions, as things so far short of the true duty I owe, that I quake to think how much they may stand up against me. And now, I pray you all pray for me, and with me.

In a small manuscript on vellum, in the Harleian collection[a] in the British Museum, containing a Manual of Prayers, which is considered to have originally belonged "to some English Protestant of quality, who was cast into prison wrongfully, according to his own opinion;" but was afterwards used both by Lady Jane and her husband, Lord Guildford Dudley, when in the Tower; these illustrious persons wrote the following passages, and which render this little volume perhaps the most interesting relic of misfortunes which is extant. It is about four inches long, nearly two inches in thickness, and contains thirty-five Prayers: as from its size, there is but a very small margin,

---

[a] Harl. MSS. No. 2342.

As an account of the contents of this valuable MS. must be deemed of much interest, from the circumstance of its having been used in the devotions of Lady Jane Grey, the following is extracted from the Harleian Catalogue.

A prayer for patience in Tribulation as Christ was patient f. 1
A prayer conserninge the love of my neighbour 5
A prayer for forgiveness of sins; wherein gloteny is added to lechery 9
A prayer for our Enemyse 15
For pacyens in Tribulation 15b
For true wisdom 16
A confession of sins to God, seeming to want the beginning; here, among other sins, the penitent chargeth himself with adulterie and theft 18
A praier to our Lord Jeshu Christ, in which he desires grace pacyently to suffer 21b
The praier of Quene Ester for help agaynst her enymyes 27b

not more than three lines of the passages alluded to occur on the same leaf; they are written at the bottom of the

---

The prăer of Sara the daughter of Raguell whan she was slaundred 28b
The praier of Judath for the victorie of Olyfnernes.....29
The praier of Jessus the sonne of Sirake.....29b
The praier of the three children that were delyuered from the hote burnying fire..... ..32
The praier of Manasseth, King of Juda.....35b
A prayer for grace to believe and trust in Jesus Christ. 38
A prayer for assistance against many of the author's infirmities: amongst other sins he mentions "Pollinge of poore people, and crabbedness agaynst those that were with him in howseholde".....39
A prayer to the blessed trenyte 42b
A prayer to God for delyuerance from the power of all his enemyes, and frome all theym that consented to his destructyon and pardicione 44
A prayer against the temptations of the flesshe, the worlde and the deuylle.....45b
A peticyon or prayer for [i. e. *against*] all the eyylles of paynes and punishments 48b
A deuoute prayer to Criste the seconde person in trynyte, our onely redemer, God and man 49b
A peticion and praier to our lorde for delyuerance from his enemys 59b
Ejaculations collected from the Psalms and other Scriptures, beseeching the divine assistance in the author's extreme misery.....62
The songe of Austeyn and Ambrose 74b
Saynt Jerom's deuocion oute of Dauyd's Saulter 77b

page, and are continued on the opposite and following ones. The manuscript which is bound in red morocco and ornamented, was once "illuminated by some foreigner, but has since been abused, and is now imperfect in two places;" with this exception, however, it is in fine preservation, and callous indeed must be the person who can turn over its pages with indifference. The compiler of the Harleian Catalogue, conjectures that it was written for the use of Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset, the Protector, "upon his first commitment to the Tower of London, and that the last five prayers were added after his second commitment, which ended in his execution; but if it were so, 'tis easy to apprehend how it might come into the hands of that noble, but unfortunate lady, the Lady Jane Grey." However probable the conjecture may be, that the volume once belonged to the Protector, it does not appear to be supported by the least evidence; and though Lady Ka-

---

A praier to the Father 106b
A praier to the Holy Goste 107
A praier to the Trenyte 107b
A praier to Jesu Christe 108
The Lord's prayer, followed by many holy ejaculations. 109b
These are suitable to the condition of a person in tribulation: yet some of them do seem to import a deliverance.
Now follow, by another hand,
A prayer in Trobil 137
A prayer for the lyghtenyng of the Holye Ghoste 138
A prayer in aduersitte and greuous distresse
A prayer for strengthe of mynde to beare the Crosse..140
A prayer of the faythful person in adversite 143

therine Grey, the sister of Lady Jane, married Edward Seymour, the Duke's son, that alliance did not take place till some years after Lady Jane's execution; hence the book, if it once belonged to the Protector, is not likely to have fallen into her possession: but as her husband's brother John, Earl of Warwick, married Anne Seymour, the daughter of that celebrated statesman, it is highly probable that it was given to Lord Guildford by his sister-in-law, after he became a prisoner, and if this conjecture be correct, the similarity between his situation, and that of its former owner, must have rendered it a most appropriate present.

The note which first occurs was written by Lord Guildford Dudley; it was evidently addressed to his wife's father, the Duke of Suffolk; and, as has been before surmised, in all probability the book having been occasionally borrowed by each of the unfortunate prisoners, as no other method of communication was perhaps permitted, it was made the means of conveying those assurances of duty and affection, which have almost consecrated its pages.

Your louying and obedyent son wischethe unto your grace long lyfe in this world, with as muche joye and comforte, as euer I wyshte to my selfe; and in the world to come joy euerlasting. Your most humble son tel his dethe, G. DUDDELEY.

Some pages further on, Lady Jane Grey addressed her father in the following manner.

The Lorde comforte your grace, and that in his worde whearein all creatures onlye are to be comforted. And thoughe it hath pleased God to

take awaye 2 of your children: yet thincke not, I most humblye beseech youre grace, that you haue loste them; but truste that we, by leafinge this mortall life, haue wunne an immortal life. And I, for my parte, as I haue honoured your grace in this life, wyll praye for you in another life. Youre gracys humble daughter, JANE DUDDELEY.

The ensuing passage in Lady Jane Grey's autograph, was written at the request of Sir John Brydges, the Lieutenant of the Tower, who being solicitous to obtain a memorial of his prisoners, is said to have requested her to write some lines in it, he in all probability having obtained a promise that the volume should be given to him after her decease. But Mr. Howard asserts, that "between the announcement of the fatal order for execution and its fulfilment, the Lieutenant of the Tower, evidently impressed with love, and respect for the unhappy sufferers, was anxious to procure some memorial of his prisoners, and accordingly he presented to them the manual of devotions in question;" he, however, afterwards suggests that they had borrowed the book. In a former part of these remarks, another conjecture on the manner in which it fell into Lady Jane's hands has been submitted, but it would be useless to pursue the enquiry; especially as some observations connected with the subject will be found in the memoir in this volume.

Forasmuche as you haue desired so simple a woman to wrighte in so worthy a booke, gode mayster Lieufenante therefore I shalle as a frende, desyre you, and as a christian require you, to call vpyon God, to encline youre harte to his lawes, to

quicken you in his waye, and not to take the worde of trewethe vtterlye oute of youre mouthe. Lyue styll to dye, that by deathe you may purchase eternall life; and remember howe the ende of Mathusael, whoe as we reade in the scriptures, was the longeste liuer that was of a manne, died at the laste. For, as the Precher sayethe, there is a tyme to be borne, and a tyme to dye; and the daye of deathe is better than the daye of oure birthe. Youres, as the Lorde knowethe, as a frende,

JANE DUDDELEY.

The following lines are said to have been written by Lady Jane Grey on the walls of her apartment in the Tower, with a pin; but it is to be observed, that though numerous devices inscribed by the unfortunate persons who have at different times been the inhabitants of that fortress, were discovered on making some alterations a few years ago, and the whole of which are inserted in the XIII Volume of the *Archæologia*, not the slightest remains of these verses were to be found.. As this circumstance does not however prove that they never existed, and as they have been constantly attributed to Lady Jane Grey, they could not with propriety be omitted in a collection of her writings; whilst the question of their authenticity is of course left to the sagacity of the reader.

Non aliena putes homini quæ obtingere possunt,
Sors hodierna mihi, cras erit illa tibi!

Which has been thus translated:

To mortals' common fate thy mind resign,
My lot to day, to-morrow may be thine.

Also, thus:

Think not, O mortal! vainly gay,
That thou from human woes art free;
The bitter cup I drink to day,
To-morrow, may be drank by thee.

The following are also said to have been written in a similar manner.

Deo juvante, nil nocet livor malus;
Et non juvante, nil juvat labor gravis:
Post tenebras, spero lucem.

Whilst God assists us, envy bites in vain,
If God forsake us, fruitless all our pain—
I hope for light after the darkness.

A more elegant translation which has appeared, is,

Harmless all malice, if our God be nigh:
Fruitless all pains, if he his help deny.
Patient I pass these gloomy hours away,
And wait the morning of eternal day!

THE END.

Johnson, Typ. Brook Street, Holborn.

00097963

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 06 February, 2016